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THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

FROM AGRICOLA'S INVASION TO THE
EXTINCTION OF THE LAST
JACOBITE INSURRECTION

BY

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HISTORIOGRAPHER-ROYAL FOR SCOTLAND

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How far the ecclesiastical Revolution, carried by a vote of the Estates on the 17th of August in the year 1560, was to be conclusive and permanent, seemed to be a question depending on the fate of a youth, fragile from his

birth and now seriously diseased. Suspense ended when it became known that Francis II., King of France, the husband of the Queen of Scots, had died on the 5th of December. He was in his seventeenth year, and had reigned a few days more than a year and a half. Had human aid availed for anything, he had such as the greatest monarchs cannot always command. He was attended on his death-bed by Ambrose Paré, not only the most skilful surgeon of his day, but one of the illustrious few who have left a legacy to the world in permanent devices for assuaging pain and saving life. All that his skill could do, however, in treating the dying king, was to announce with confidence that death was advancing with absolute certainty in the shape of a gangrenous ulcer making its way to the brain. It might be supposed that the protective presence of one so skilful would have saved the dark repute of the king's mother, Catherine of Medici, from an additional shade, and the deepest of all, in the charge that she had murdered her son as one who stood in the way of her ambition. While the Queen of France was the niece of the Guises—and a niece with so much in her own character to increase their resources—the "fille de marchand," as Mary scornfully called her husband's mother, was almost nobody at Court. She had been, like a caged tigress, disabled from pursuing the instincts of her ferocious nature. Her son's death was the first and the most effective of the successive blows that finally levelled the power of her enemies, the Guises, to the dust. It made her virtually Queen of France; and those who saw all this and knew her nature, spoke in the belief that no crime would be permitted to stand between her and such a fortune.

Outside the palace-gates the contest between the Huguenot and the Guise party raged so fiercely, that even the death of the king, whom both professed to reverence and obey, passed over as a secondary incident, and he was buried out of sight with little of the pomp incident to the obsequies of a king of France.[1]

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[1] Condé, who was saved by the event that broke the power of the Guises, was on his way from his prison to resume his military autho-

There was one man who, though his place was in the centre of all the storm, stood apart in calm seclusion, watching its course, and calculating how the probable results would work with the other combinations of European politics. This was the English ambassador, Throckmorton. In the mean time his chief occupation was gone—that of achieving the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. It might be that the event opened up new prospects of success, but he could not in decency press his demands on the new-made widow.

He had to content himself in the mean time with the study of her conduct and character in her hour of calamity and trial, and he sent his commentaries on what he noticed home for study by his mistress and his political colleagues. In these revelations the spirit of the kindly English gentleman in some measure seems to overcome that of the diplomatist and spy. He spoke well of her; and the very weight of the charges that afterwards loaded her fame renders it but fair that we should not pass over the words of commendation rendered to her by one who was present at so critical a time. On the day of the king's death, and in the intimation of the end to his mistress, he says,—"He departed to God, leaving as heavy and dolorous a wife as of right she had good cause to be, who, by long watching with him during his sickness, and painful diligence about him, and especially by the issue thereof, is not in best tune of her body, but without danger."[1]

Twenty-five days later, having meanwhile been watching and ruminating, he is able to speak more specifically about her character, and its possible political influence.

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rity at Orleans, when "Il faillit croiser en chemin le corps du feu roi, que deux chambellans et un évêque aveugle (Guillard, évêque de Senlis) menaient à Saint-Denis 'petitement' accompagné : les Guises, résolus à ne pas quitter la place un seul jour, et à disputer opiniâtrément tout ce qu'ils pourraient conserver d'autorité, abandonnèrent les restes de celui qui ne pouvait plus rien pour leur fortune, malgré les devoirs que la charge de grand-maître imposait au Duc François, et le roi fut enterré sans pompe à Saint-Denis, tandis que les États Généraux s'ouvraient bruyamment à Orléans en présence de son jeune successeur."—Martin, Hist. de France, ix. 62.

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 421.

Her marriage is "one of the special things" that the Lords of the Council to whom he writes "have to consider and have an eye to;" and then, "During her husband's life there was no great account made of her, for that being under bond of marriage and subjection of her husband (who carried the burden and care of all her matters) there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death she hath showed, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling of herself, and her matters, which, increasing with her years, cannot but turn greatly to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country. Already it appears that some such as made no great account of her, do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her. Immediately upon her husband's death she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company, and became so sorrowful and exempt of all worldliness, that she doth not to this day see daylight, and so will continue out forty days. For the space of fifteen days after the death of her said husband, she permitted no man to come into her chamber, but the king, his brethren, the King of Navarre, the constable, and her uncles; and about four or five days after that, was content to admit some bishops, and the ancient knights of the order, and none of the younger, save Martignes, who, having done her good service, and married the chief gentlewoman of the chamber, had so much favour showed him. The ambassadors were also lastly admitted as they came, who have all been with her to condole, saving I, which I have forborne to do, knowing not the queen's pleasure in that behalf."[1] After touching other matters he returns to his sketch of character in a tone suggestive of susceptibility to the powers of fascination that afterwards gained so many victories. "For my part I see her behaviour to be such, and her wisdom and kingly modesty so great, in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by good counsel and wise men—which is a great virtue in a prince

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 472.

or princess, and which argueth a great judgment and wisdom in her—that by their means she cannot do amiss."[1]

While the widow is thus found dwelling apart in decent gloom, the diplomatic correspondence of the day becomes lively with suggestions and queries as to her disposal in marriage. Would she be wedded to her dead husband's brother and successor in the throne, Charles the Ninth, under a papal dispensation demanded by the eminent importance of such a union to the Church? And here it may be noted as a practical consideration by the statesmen of the period, however fanciful and fruitless any reflections on the matter may appear at the present day, that it had been among possibilities that Queen Elizabeth might, under the like sanction, be married to her brother-in-law King Philip, and thus secure to Spain and England in union the preponderance over France in the championship of the old religion. On the other hand, would King Philip claim the widow for his son, Don Carlos?—an idea to be weighed along with the influence of King Philip's own recent marriage to Elizabeth of France. It was rumoured that the Guises might claim their niece for some member of their own family, as an item in the daring game they were playing for supremacy in France. The disposal, indeed, of this young widow's hand, was a great European question, widened and disturbed by the consideration that in canonical doctrine she was entitled to supersede Elizabeth on the throne of England. Frederick of Denmark and Eric of Sweden, each freshly enthroned, were named. There was also the son of the Emperor Frederick, called the Archduke Charles and occasionally the Duke of Austria. Nearer home the name of Arran, the heir to the honours of the house of Hamilton, came up; but at the instigation rather of his own family and himself than of the diplomatists. The folly of his nature, tinged with somewhat of insanity, seems to have been apparent to them, and we find them significantly leaving it to himself to promote his cause.[2]

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 473.

[2] See a letter full of subtle doubts and difficulties, Randolph to Cecil, Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 4th March 1561. The matter drops with—"Well! my lord of Arran may conceive with himself that

The house of Hamilton, it will be remembered, was the nearest, as descending from James II., in the hereditary right of succession to the house of Stewart. Of the successful suitor, Lennox's son, Lord Darnley, no account seems to have been taken by the busy diplomatists, though it is casually mentioned as a common report in Scotland, that he had gone to France to try his fortunes with the widow.[1] While Queen Mary was still in France, Queen Elizabeth made preparation for taking a decided part in the question, by instructing Randolph, her representative in Edinburgh, on the tone he was to take when the question came to be discussed there. He was to represent the danger to the Scots of a foreign king. Of those who had been most earnest in defence of the liberties of the Scots he would be the ruin, unless he adopted their cause; and if he professed to do so he might turn and be an enemy. Anything restoring the ancient league with France would be fatal. They should look near home for a husband, and find one well addicted to the cause of religion, and of good amity with England.[2]

Throckmorton, as he ruminated on such questions, hoped that the second marriage would not be so prejudicial to the interests of his country as the first had been, and uttered as a general opinion, that the widow "more esteemeth the continuation of her honour, and to marry one that may uphold her to be great, than she passeth to please her fancy by taking one that is accompanied with such small benefit or alliance as thereby her estimation and fame is not increased."[3] Perhaps this was a fair estimate of her aspirations before they were dispersed by other influences. When, as we shall see, the Earl of Bedford joined Throckmorton, instructions were given to both to "explore the likelihood of the marriage of the Scottish queen; wherein they shall employ their devices to procure it, to be either in her own country, or in such place as may least augment her strength."[4]

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there is possibility or likelihood that he may have her; but it is against the opinion of all the doctors."

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 15th March 1561, T. Stewart to Lady Lennox.

[2] Ibid., 20th March 1561. [3] Ibid., 423. [4] Ibid., 508.

In the public correspondence nearer home—that of the Scots Protestants with each other, and with their friends in England—there is a decorous tone of comfort and relief in the dispersal of gloomy anticipations, and the brightening of hopes. The more the death of King Francis was weighed as a political event, the more it was felt to be a great deliverance. It was seen that when he was gone there remained little strength in the hold by which Scotland seemed bound over to the ambitious schemes of the Guises. If to a large portion of the Scots people their queen was also to be their enemy, she had lost her power to injure. Her early return was now desired, and preparations were made accordingly.

The first public event in Scotland affecting the connection of the leading men with their sovereign after the death of the king was the reception, early in the month of May, of an embassy or deputation from the new King of France. It was professedly sent for the purpose of condoling with them on the loss they had sustained by the death of King Francis, and on the effect this might have in breaking the close alliance of Scotland with France. Perhaps of the many events treated in diplomatic courtesy as occasions of sorrow, few have been less legitimately entitled to sympathy than this. But there was more and less innocent matter in the "Harangue," as it is called, of the leader of the embassy. He appears to have met in the hotel of the Hamilton family, close to the Kirk-of-Field, with a body of the chief political leaders assembled to arrange about the calling of a Parliament. He assured this assemblage of the continued friendship of the King of France. He announced to them that their queen desired to bury the memory of all past offences, and to show a sincere love for her subjects, for which she desires them to render in return their perfect obedience to her, so that she may not have to regret her magnanimity. He had it in commission to express on the part of the king that, in assurance of his amity, he was prepared to offer to their queen a continuation of the ancient league between France and Scotland. He brought assurances, too, from the Queen-mother, Catherine of Medici, that she would assist in

strengthening and maintaining the old friendship between the kingdoms.

There was matter in all this to inflame the temper of a class of men who, on more propitious occasions, were apt to spurn admonitions by strangers to do their loyal duty.[1] The opportunity for a gentle answer in the matter of condolence was courteously employed. On the other matter, the purport of their answer was: "As for his offer of reconciling them with the queen, they are not otherwise affectioned towards her than became good and obedient subjects, and are willing to recognise the queen's goodness with all submission and humble service. It is not very necessary to admonish them to do thus, which they acknowledge to be their duty. They beg that the king will be pleased to consider that there are no subjects in Europe more ready to serve their sovereign than they are their queen." Even in the condolence there was a sting; if the king had lived, he would have looked into the recent troubles, not with the result of bringing the promoters of the revolution to chastisement. On the contrary, with the conclusion of punishing "such of his ministers as were the occasion of the same."

There are but scanty traces of the conduct and transactions of the ambassador after his "harangue." Knox briefly says that his demands were: "1. That the league betwixt us and England should be broken; 2. That the ancient league between France and Scotland should be renewed; and, 3d, That the bishops and kirkmen should

[1] This part of the national character was skilfully touched in the instructions to the Earl of Bedford, whom we shall find associated with Throckmorton in his mission. In his intercourse with the Scots queen's uncles—"If the said cardinal or duke shall enter into argument of the disobedience of Scotland, the said ambassadors shall seem to answer of their own knowledge, how evil informed they be, seeing in what quietness the realm is since the departure of the men of war from thence; and that the nature and manners of the people of England and Scotland are in that part somewhat like, for by gentleness they may be used or sometimes abused, but with force, and especially with a foreign governor, neither of them can agree; whereof the time of King Philip in England, and the late time in Scotland, make good proof."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 508.

be reponed in their former places, and be suffered to intromit with their livings." These weighty matters were deferred until the arrival of the Lord James from France, when a distinct negative was returned to each demand.[1]

In the mean time, and before Randolph could decorously resume the object of his mission, Queen Mary had to receive other visitors. Among these were two countrymen of her own, who, representing the two opposite parties in the great contest, reached her simultaneously at Vitry in Champagne. The one was her brother, the Lord James;[2] the other represented the adherents of the old Church. Whatever counsel she received from her brother the leader of the Lords of the Congregation, cannot have harmonised

[1] History, ii. 156, 166; Diurnal of Occurrents, 64, 282. The "Oration" scene is founded on two documents: "Harangue of M. De l'Isle to the Scottish Council," and "Answer of the Council of Scotland to M. De l'Isle," Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 16. There seems to be a mistake in the name. The date attributed to these is the middle of March, when De Noailles certainly was in Scotland on a mission from the King of France. His name, though disguised as Monsieur Newill in the Diurnal of Occurrents, is familiar in the history and correspondence of the period, while, even if it were likely that two emissaries came at the same time, I cannot identify any De l'Ile as likely to have been available for such a mission.

[2] The Lord James is better known by the title of his earldom of Moray, or Murray as custom has settled that it shall be called. He seems on this occasion to have gained from Throckmorton that high opinion ever conceded to him by the statesmen of Queen Elizabeth's Court. Throckmorton writes to Cecil: "It is a great matter in this time to find a man of his credit in his country to be so faithful and sincere as he is. I find in him wit enough for his years, much honour, and great fidelity. It is a good turn that so direct a man as he is hath the credit and love at home that he hath." To Queen Elizabeth: "I do well perceive the Lord James to be a very honourable, sincere, and godly gentleman, and very much affected to your majesty, upon whom you never bestowed good turn better than on him, in my opinion." To the Lords of the Council of England, after general remarks on his sincerity and magnanimity: "What a great benefit it is for her majesty and your lordships to deal with such an upright man, and in so weighty affairs as betwixt prince and prince, realm and realm, and more especially when the press of men be much subject to dissimulation, cautels, and finesse, I leave to your lordships to consider."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 1861-62, 76, 85, 97.

with her temper and aspirations. But what passed between these two, holding to each other, both domestically and politically, a position so unusual and remarkable, was matter of much conjecture, but of little assurance, for neither of them was given to babble or to useless confidences. Better, perhaps, than from the current rumours, we may judge of Murray's conclusions from a letter written by him to Queen Elizabeth. She became impatient and alarmed at the treaty of Edinburgh, with its acknowledgment of her right to the throne of England, remaining unratified by the one person whose acknowledgment of her right was essential. She wrote to Randolph, desiring him to press this matter on the Scots Estates; if they took it up, either they would in some way carry the ratification, or by showing their earnestness to promote it might frighten their queen from returning among them.[1] Murray wrote to Queen Elizabeth on the general question, in his usual grave deliberate fashion. It was a blessed thing to see the people of the two countries uniting in common objects—they whose ancestors had been for centuries enemies so bitter to each other. The Reformed religion had abolished the enmity, and secured this harmony. What pity, then, that while there is unity of purpose between the bulk of the people in each of the two kingdoms, there should be diversity of purpose in the two heads. Here they are, two queens, each in the flower of her age, each adorned by all virtuous capacities and accomplishments, with this unfortunate gulf of religious variance between them. Passing from such generals to particulars, he becomes earnest, and invokes the name of God to the strong sincerity of his grief that Queen Mary had ever done aught inferring a claim of right to Elizabeth's throne. At the same time, Queen Mary was the heir to the throne of England, and should be so dealt with until nearer heirs should arise in children born to the Queen of England. He suggested, as a reasonable and a graceful termination of the whole dispute, that on the one side the right of Queen Elizabeth and her issue should be acknowledged;

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 167.

while, on the other side, the Queen of Scots should be treated as the heiress of the crown of England until such issue should appear.[1]

The other emissary, who came after him, was John Leslie, afterwards the Bishop of Ross, and Mary's stanch friend and supporter in her adversities. We have the object of his mission from himself. He represented the party of the old Church, especially the Lords Huntly, Athole, Crawford, Marischal, Sutherland, and Caithness. He says he offered the devoted duty of his party, and that it was thankfully received. He further tells the significant fact that he recommended her to land at Aberdeen, where twenty thousand troops would be at her disposal; and that he was accompanied by one high in command in Huntly's armed force, who was to arrange her convoy to Aberdeen, if she consented to land there. This was no less than the offer of the power of the north to strike at once a great blow against the Congregation and for the old religion. However it came to pass, the landing at Aberdeen was not effected; but the proposal will be seen to have an intimate connection with events immediately following the queen's return to Scotland.[2]

Sir James Melville, with whom we shall make acquaintance hereafter, at that time a young politician, active and ambitious, was haunting the Court of Queen Mary, as well as all other places where advancement might fall in his way. He was a keen observer, and tells us that she took counsel as to the future with some eminent Frenchmen, who had been in Scotland in the last war. He names De Martignes, D'Oisel, De la Brosse, the Bishop of Mayence, and Roubay, who having been vice-chancellor of

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 239.

[2] History, vernacular version, 294. It is in the Latin version that the affair is more distinctly marked as a project of the Romish party, and that the army to be collected at Aberdeen is mentioned. The leader of the convoy was to be "Jacobus Cullenus, ipsius Huntlæi cognatus, vir militiæ terrestris ac navalis scientia plurimum valens, qui illam tutam ac incolumem Aberdoniam duceret."—P. 532. These particulars are repeated in Gordon's History of the Family of Gordon (i. 198), whether on Leslie's or other authority. See also Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, 139.

Scotland, must have seen something of the character of the people among whom he had to act. According to Melville, the tenor of their advice was "to serve the time, and to accommode herself discreetly and gently with her own subjects, and to be maist familiar with my Lord James, Prior of St Andrews, her natural brother, and with the Earl of Argyle, who had married Lady Jean Stewart, her natural sister, and to use the Secretair Lethington and the Laird of Grange maist tenderly in all her affairs; and in effect, to repose maist upon them of the Reformed religion."[1] Whether her subsequent conduct was directed by such advice is a point on which every one who follows her career will probably decide for himself.

She had other advisers to recommend to her the same course, but not with the same ultimate object. If she in the end deliberately undertook the policy of cherishing the triumphant Protestants, until she found the opportunity for striking them a fatal blow, she had not made up her mind to this project, when, in the month of June, she had an open conversation on general topics with Throckmorton, as if they both sought relief from the sharp contest about the ratification of the treaty. Describing the interview to his own queen, he renders what Queen Mary must have told him in French into very appropriate English. "Well," said she, "I will be plain with you, and tell you what I would all the world should think of me. The religion that I profess I take to be most acceptable to God, and indeed neither do I know nor desire to know any other. Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better than princes, and such as have rule over realms, and especially in the matter of religion. I have been brought up in this religion, and who might credit me in anything if I should show myself light in this case? And though I am young, and not greatly learned, yet I have heard this matter disputed of by my uncle my Lord Cardinal, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter, and I found therein no great reason to change mine opinion." Here the ambassador put in that the Cardinal

[1] Memoirs, 88.

had confessed to the gross abuses and disorderliness among the clergy. Yes, she admitted that to be true; she had ofttimes heard her uncle say the like. The admission did not touch her fidelity; in fact at that period it was a sign of sincerity or of bigotry when a professor of the old religion lamented the corruptions of the hierarchy and the viciousness of the men who held conspicuous rank in it. She was plausible, it might be said genial, when the ambassador pressed her on the hard issues of irreconcilable beliefs. A firm adherent of the old Church, she would not constrain her subjects,—but in this her sense was that she would be lenient and gracious towards them in their transgression; not that they had a right to think for themselves. Her assurances of toleration were overshadowed by the assertion of supreme authority. The ambassador pleading against constraint on consciences because the duty due to God could not be given to another, she put it emphatically that God commanded subjects to be obedient to their princes.[1]

The Earl of Bedford, with instructions dated the 12th of January 1561, was sent to strengthen the English mission by co-operation with Throckmorton. The two were directed to recommend Queen Mary to allow her subjects to be ruled by their own laws, in the hands of such natural-born subjects as were found most capable to administer them. They were to remind her how well Scotland had been governed for her ever since the French troops had been driven out. They were to point out how, when her royal sister sent an army to Scotland, it was for no advantage to her own crown or kingdom. Nothing had been attempted for the aggrandisement of England; on the contrary, she had given all aid to the wardens of the marches to put down the outlaws, murderers, and thieves on both sides of the border, and to keep good order. They were to enlarge on such topics without coming to the particular matter of the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, unless Queen Mary herself were to open that question. If she do not, then in the end they must. They are to complain of the

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 151.

vain delays during the king's life, and press the matter home. If it were ground of dubiety or hesitation that the King of France, who had been a party to the treaty, was dead, then let it be amended so as to accept complete fulfilment by Queen Mary's own confirmation. Let them do anything to accomplish the vital object, Queen Mary's abandonment of her claims on England.[1] They did their duty accordingly; and it might be said that their pertinacity in this matter extended to rudeness and even to cruelty, were it not that they could plead the vital interests at stake as an excuse for earnest endeavour.

If these experienced statesmen expected to mould the beautiful young widow in her solitude and sorrows to their purpose they were mistaken. What they chiefly gained after repeated audiences was the assurance that their mistress was to have a dangerous neighbour, so far as plausibility and seductive influence might go. On the very weakness of her condition as a new-made widow among strangers, she founded an insuperable barrier against all their efforts. She was young, she was ignorant, she had never acted for herself—her husband took all the cares and responsibilities of their high position on himself while he lived. How could they ask her to transact business—important business—without her proper advisers about her? They pointed out that she had advisers, able, experienced, and friendly, at hand in her two illustrious uncles—the Duke and the Cardinal. It cannot have been that she should divine how offensive such an influence would be felt to be in Scotland, yet by something like an instinct she saw that there was reason against this advice—no, they were not her proper advisers in the treatment of her realm in Scotland. They were themselves too wise and considerate to give her such advice—they never interfered in the affairs of Scotland. Revelations in the correspondence of the day tell another story; but had she selected a political position which Queen Elizabeth could not turn and her own people would thoroughly support, she could not have selected a better.

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 507.

In fact, Queen Elizabeth had, in a manner that chafed her as savouring of presumption, enjoined her, as we have seen, to walk by the counsel of those native subjects of her realm whose station commended them as her legitimate advisers. This little offence served her in good purpose. Had not the Queen of England, her most gracious sister, most kindly advised her in this matter, and would they, her servants, advise her to disregard the counsel so vouchsafed to her by their own royal mistress? And, as appropriate to their queen's name coming up in the discourse, concerning her there was a promise unfulfilled. She and her gracious sister were to exchange portraits. She had sent her own, but she had not received the much-desired equivalent. She begged that there might be no delay about this—she could not rest until she was blessed with the likeness of that dear one. Afterwards when she received it, she was curious in her inquiries about the accuracy of its resemblance to "her lovely face."

Bedford returned in the early spring of 1561, leaving his companion to do his best alone, and him we find cynically remarking in a letter to Cecil, how the injunction to remain at his post until he obtain the ratification is equivalent to a doom of perpetual banishment. He persevered, however, dutifully to the end. His opportunities were many; for the Queen, as if conscious of the power of baffling him at the beginning, and feeling an enjoyment in the facile use of her weapons, readily admitted him to interviews. His last was at a juncture that afforded his adversary a brilliant opportunity of putting him to shame. It was three days before she sailed for Scotland. She was at Abbeville, on her way from St Germains to Calais, where the galleys awaited her arrival. She was to resume her journey that evening, and had "somewhat to do." That treaty—she had no copy of it at hand. Throckmorton could supply the deficiency—he had it all sealed and ready for signature; but he saw, somewhat to his surprise, that she needed it not to refresh her memory. In a few casual remarks, lightly casting aside the possibility of transacting this weighty business on a stage in a journey, she showed an intimate and distinct acquaintance

with all the leading and emphatic provisions of the treaty. In these later interviews the ambassador got experience of another of her dialectic accomplishments, finding and feeling with what royal grace she could pass a sarcastic rebuke on an unworthy act. She had requested from Queen Elizabeth, for her protection on her way to her kingdom, a safe-conduct or passport, that might be effectual either on the sea or in England. The request was refused, and Throckmorton had to announce the refusal. She took for granted that Queen Elizabeth would endeavour to intercept her. She spoke of all this with a kind of easy scorn. Queen Elizabeth's father had tried to kidnap her when she came to France as an infant. He failed; and perhaps Providence would be equally kind to her again, and bring her safe through the traps set by his daughter. And if Queen Elizabeth were successful? Well, then, she would be at the mercy, no doubt, of the person who had so acted—and what would be the end? For herself, simple enough; she had but to submit to her fate, whatever it might be—captivity or death: but how for the other, with such a weight of infamy on her fame?[1]

[1] It seems to be a question whether the passport requested by Queen Mary was for permission to land in England, and travel by land to Scotland, though Queen Elizabeth offered to her what she pleased in the shape of a royal progress, would she but ratify the treaty. Throckmorton's account of the matter in his announcement of the refusal is: "Madam,—Whereas you sent lately Monsieur D'Oysel to the queen my mistress, to demand her majesty's safe-conduct for your free passage by sea into your realm, and to be accommodated with such favours as upon events you might have need of on the coast of England, and also did farther require the free passage of the said Monsieur D'Oysel into Scotland through England: the queen my mistress hath not thought good to suffer the said Monsieur D'Oysel to pass into Scotland, nor to satisfy your desire for your passage home; neither for such other favours as you required to be accommodated withal at her majesty's hands, inasmuch as you have not accomplished the ratification of the treaty according to your deputies in July now twelve months ago, at Edinburgh, which in honour you were bound many ways to perform."—Keith, 8vo edition, ii. 43. There seems no foundation for the belief that Queen Elizabeth had a deliberate design to intercept her. Naval preparations for such an act would have been known in France, and would have influenced the arrangements. Too much has been founded on a casual observation

This refusal of a passport was deemed so serious a step that the Spanish ambassador in France announced it to his master as an event likely to bring war between France and England. He observes that it was a gratuitous in-

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in a letter of Cecil's: "The queen's majesty hath three ships in the North Seas to preserve the fishers from pirates—I think these will be sorry to see her pass." The significance of such brief remarks depends on the context, and this is supplied in Wright's Queen Elizabeth (i. 67-69), where the letter it belongs to is printed at length. It would appear that these ships actually met the galleys and let them pass, if Cecil was rightly informed when he wrote to Throckmorton, saying: "The queen's majesty's ships that were upon the seas to cleanse them from pirates saw her and saluted her galleys; and staying her ships, examined them of pirates, and dismissed them gently; one Scottish ship they detained, as vehemently suspected of piracy" —(Hardwicke's State Papers, 176). In construing this intelligence the difference of treatment towards *galleys* and *ships* must be noted. Though it does not appear that as an act of national policy Queen Elizabeth's Government intended to intercept Queen Mary in her voyage, yet it seems to have been in the view of subordinates that they might do acceptable service by seizing accidental opportunities. For instance, the Earl of Rutland tells Cecil how he was advertised by a man from Bridlington that about four o'clock of the previous day, eight galleys and sixteen great ships were visible—it is not easy to reconcile this apparition with Brantome's: "Elle trouvera au port deux galeres, . . . et deux navires de charge seulement pour tout armement" (p. 110). The earl states that he had sent "Mr Strickland" to use all diligence and circumspection in the matter, giving this significant account of his duty: "It is thought they will draw to the shore, which, if they do, and arrive, I have given such order as I nothing doubt but ye shall hear good news of her stay."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 254. It might account for interruptions and alarms, that there was a serious difficulty at that time between England and Spain, arising out of charges that English pirates had plundered Spanish vessels. In the course of the diplomatic correspondence on this point it was maintained on the part of England that some of the guilty vessels belonged to Scotsmen, and that others had sought refuge by running into the narrow seas of Scotland, where English ships were endeavouring to trace them. And then all this petty complexity about the designs of Queen Elizabeth and the attempts to effect them is simplified, if we are to believe a brief announcement of Randolph, who was in Edinburgh at the time of the arrival and ravenous for news: "She never met or saw ships upon the sea, for all the bruit that was of her stay that should have been" (ibid.) From casual remarks in the letters of the period, it seems possible that some diligent investigator may find that Queen Elizabeth thought better of the matter and granted the safe-conduct.

sult; for Queen Elizabeth must know that information about the movements of the English fleet could be so easily and fully obtained at Calais, that Queen Mary might time her voyage with almost a certainty of safely completing it. The refusal had an ugly and discourteous aspect, and yet something can be said for Queen Elizabeth in the matter. She was asked to permit a pretender to her throne to pass through England. She put the granting of the passports and the ratifying of the treaty of Edinburgh as equivalents. Let Queen Mary abandon her claims by signing the treaty—then she would be received in England with all honour and hospitality.[1]

Queen Mary embarked to return to Scotland on the 14th of August 1561. She and her escort sailed from Calais in two of the galleys then almost peculiar to France, as vessels which went before the wind when they could, and were rowed by galley-slaves on benches at other times. Two ordinary sailing vessels attended, the whole making a fleet of four. She was well escorted. There were with her, besides many minor nobles of France, her two uncles, the Duke of Aumale and the Marquis of Elbœuf; her two adorers, Marshal d'Amville, and Chastellar, whose adoration afterwards cost him so dear. There was Strozzi—apparently the son of the general who besieged St Andrews—and La Noue, afterwards known in the Huguenot wars as Bras de Fer.[2] By far the most interesting, however, of her attendants to us at the present day was Brantome, who sailed in the same galley with her.[3] Her conduct during the voyage has been treasured and told in various

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 1560-61, p. 574; 1561-62, p. 46, 58, 166, 67, 179, 187, 196, 244. Letters from Throckmorton, Keith (8vo ed.), ii. 26 *et seq.*

[2] M. de Castelneau, l. iii. ch. i.

[3] It might be inferred from what Leslie says, that she was then accompanied by her evil genius, Bothwell: "Not long efter, the Earls Bothwell and Eglintoun, the Bishop of Orkney, and sindry other noblemen and clerks, arrivet in France, wha returnet in Scotland with the queen's majesty again."—P. 295. In the Latin version, Bothwell's going to France is mentioned; but in the train coming to Scotland with the queen, only the French are mentioned, as in Brantome. The author of a contemporary diary says: "Upon the 21 day of Februar, my Lord Bothwell landed in Scotland out of France."—Diurnal of Occurrents, 64.

shapes ; but as the original source of all of them is a few precious sentences by that vivid writer in his little book 'Des Dames Illustres,' it may be well to adhere to what is so said. A light wind sprang up, the crew of galley-slaves were released from their labours, and the sails set. As the lumbering vessels moved slowly away, the queen sat beside the helm, as the place where she would be nearest the land she was leaving. She gazed on it with her fine eyes, and wept bitterly throughout the remaining five hours of daylight, repeating over and over the simple words, "Adieu, France!" When the sight of land faded into the darkness, she uttered passionate words about the jealous night drawing its curtain before her, and with tears falling faster and faster, exclaimed that the sight of France was now lost to her—she would never see it more. She then became conversible, and spoke of herself with her eyes bent on the land, dropping a sentiment about her reversing the attitude of Dido, who, when Æneas departed, ever gazed on the sea. She slept on the deck, desiring the pilot to waken her immediately, should the land become again visible at dawn. The wind fell, and the slaves were set to their slow labours again, so that next morning the coast was still to be seen; and sitting up, she looked on it till it vanished, crying—"Adieu la France, cela est fait! Adieu la France, je pense ne vous voir jamais plus!" The queen reached her dominion through the port of Leith on the morning of the 19th of August. The voyage was made with unusual rapidity—in four days, as it appears. The event was not expected.[1] The arrival of their queen was announced to the nearest inhabitants by the discharge of the guns mounted on the galleys. Whatever arrangements were in preparation for the event had not been completed, and the contrast betweeen Scotland and France was rather exaggerated than modified. She and her following

[1] Randolph, writing a week later, says : "The noblemen were all absent, saving the Lord Robert; her arrival was so sudden, that no man thought of her. Incontinent upon the news there arrived the duke first, next the Lord James, then the Earl of Arran. Since that time the repair has been great of all sorts. All men welcome—all men well received; good entertainment, good cheer, and fair words."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 278.

had to wait some time at Leith ere horses—there were no carriages—could be procured for them. Brantome, whose narrative still accompanies us, says the queen burst into tears at the sorry contrast with the gorgeous processions of France. He says nothing more, however, against the equipage, save that it consisted of the horses of the country, with conformable harness; but this he seems to have thought enough.

Some zealous citizens sought to enliven her first night at Holyrood by a serenade, in which it is said that fiddles with three strings bore a conspicuous and discordant part. Whatever effect the discord may have had on the queen herself, it seems to have grated direfully on the nerves of Brantome, who describes the attempt as some five or six hundred "marauds" performing on *mechans violons* and *petits rebecs;* continuing, by way of aggravation apparently, that the music, abominably performed by them, partook of the nature of psalmody. The serenade is described by an observer of a different order in Knox's History, where we are told that "a company of most honest men, with instruments of music and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber window," and that the queen said the melody "liked her well," and she wished the same to be continued some nights after.

The spoilt beauty expected to find in the land of her destiny a dreary contrast with that of her adoption, and she found her expectations fully realised. France, though now more closely and economically cultivated, scarcely bears to outward appearance a richer raiment of civilised fruitfulness than it did then. Wherever royalty was likely to resort, there were palaces and chateaus, walled towns, fine churches, and great stretches of pleasure-ground. Scotland was yet ignorant of the high cultivation which has warmed her cold landscape and softened her dreary winds. There was a greater contrast even in the people than in the country. England was behind France in a certain kind of civilisation; the Court and the aristocracy were more home-spun and yeoman-like. Scotland was a much greater distance behind England, and lacked the solid respectability which was then ripening into a civili

sation more firm and true than that of France. The common people of Scotland were perhaps as well off as those of France, but they were not subdued to the same submissive order, being self-willed, boisterous, and, down to the very humblest grade, even proud.

In France, the Court, through its power and wealth, could effectually isolate itself from the people, clearing away whatever was sordid and disagreeable, all around. In Scotland, the common people, such as they were, pressed close around the palace-door, and haunted royalty wherever it went. The contrast between the two nations, thus considerable in the lowest sphere of society, increased rather than diminished with the ascending grades, and was greatest among the courtiers immediately surrounding the throne. There were many country seigneurs in France, who practised rough hospitality and tyranny in their own domains, and were seen but on rare occasions at Court, where they were the objects of ridicule and horror. But those who frequented the Court had mounted as high in the scale of external elegance and fastidiousness as the world has ever reached. Though corroding vices were eating all morality out of it, the Court abounded in as much elegant luxury and external refinement as it has ever known at any later age. There was a high polish in the very vices of the period. If there were gluttony and drunkenness, they exercised themselves in the most skilfully prepared meats and costly wines. French cookery had made wonderful strides as a skilful art, and had produced one master-mind. Sensuality indulged itself in exquisite works of art and inspired poetry. The men even were profuse in silks and velvets, indulged in perfumes, and kept diminutive monkeys and silky spaniels as pets. Murder itself was refined, by a preference of subtle poisons, skilfully prepared, over the bloody brawls of earlier times. A portion of these vices and trivialities, covered with a thin polish, had been transferred by the French courtiers to their faithful allies of Scotland; but these tended rather to expose and aggravate than to subdue the natural character of the Scots aristocracy. Their dress was that of the camp or the stable; they were

dirty in person, and abrupt and disrespectful in manner, carrying on their disputes, and even fighting out their fierce quarrels, in the presence of royalty, which had by no means accomplished the serene imperial isolation which the sovereigns of France had achieved since the days of Francis I.

One man, called in the correspondence of the day "Captain Hepburn," gained notoriety by excelling his neighbours in intrusive insolence to the young queen. While she was in a group of courtiers talking to Sir Harry Sydney, he slipped a packet into her hand. If Randolph's account of what was within it be accurate, he might well say that he knew not in what honest terms to describe it. There were obscene poetic descriptions made emphatic by pictorial illustrations—altogether such a morsel as decorous people might imagine—but are not likely to have ever seen—adjusted to gratify the lusts of those frequenting the lowest resorts of brutal profligacy.[1]

It was one redeeming feature of the close pressure of the sordid elements of life on the presence of royalty, that it gave opportunity to the sovereign to show kindness and amiability—and of these qualities the queen had ever a store at command. She had been trained in a land heavily laden with human misery and degradation, but it was all kept out of sight of royal eyes. Had it been visible and accessible it had been found all too mighty, as it was for centuries after, to be mitigated by royal tenderness. But the humble poverty in the smaller country was a lighter difficulty. She interested herself about the poor in various ways, and we find the English resident in admiration of her patient and judicious efforts to see them righted in the courts of law, stimulating the organisation for the assistance and protection of pauper litigants, and sometimes attending the courts while their causes were in process. It was in the nature of the Stewart kings to act

[1] Captain Hepburn's name has come down in this story only. Randolph says he is "requested by the queen to write to Lord Grey for the apprehension of Captain Hepburn, who played of late a most shameful part with her grace, and has fled into England."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 10th August 1562.

popularly and kindly to their humbler subjects, as we have seen especially in her father's history; and it happens that there are vestiges of a practical interest taken in the cause of the friendless litigant by her mother, who, like herself, had little opportunity for the exercise of such amiabilities before her abode in Scotland.

With the exception of a few castles which had been built in the French style, the best families were crowded into narrow square towers, in which all available means had been exhausted in strength, leaving nothing for comfort or elegance. The royal residences were little better. The more roomy portions of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Falkland, as we now see them, did not then exist. Holyrood, though then very different from what it now is, was probably an exception to the general sordidness. It was the new palace, and was consequently built up to the taste and luxury of the age. It had been completed but a few years previously by James V. The park included the fine mountain-range of Arthur Seat. The lands of Duddingston, with their loch, had just been added to it; and thus, with rocks, trees, and water, the palace and its park bore some faint analogy to the glories of Fontainebleau.

On one important point a difference between the two Courts was disagreeably and alarmingly conspicuous—the unprotected condition of the sovereign and her Court, from the want of any armed force, whose duty it was to guard the royal person. In France, besides many other armed retainers of the household, there was the thoroughly disciplined body of the Scots Guard—mercenary foreigners, in the usual phraseology of later times, but at the same time a body of honourable tried men, entirely devoted to their employer, and by their foreign birth disconnected with the native aristocracy, against whom they were the crown's chief support.

While every head of a considerable family in Scotland, down to the humblest landowner, had some regular armed following, the crown alone had none. The feudal tenants of the crown were bound, indeed, to furnish their quotas to the national armament; but the troops so assembled

were entirely under their feudal leaders, and were often questionable supporters, if not dangerous neighbours, to the sovereign. Memorable incidents, some of which were yet to come, show how unprotected the royal person might be in Scotland. The early Stewart kings were men and soldiers who could always manage to keep a force of some sort at their call: but Mary severely felt the want of a permanent armed body, whose duty it was without interference on her part, to be always protecting her and her feminine Court—and her son was scarcely better fitted to dispense with it. All Mary's efforts, however, to establish a royal guard, were, like the attempt of her mother, sternly resisted, calling out a deep national antipathy to anything approaching to the character of a standing army. When an alarm arose in the palace that the crazy Earl of Arran was going to seize the queen, and sudden efforts were made for her protection against dangers which soon turned out to be unreal, she was suspected of having planned the cause of alarm to prove the necessity of establishing a household guard.[1]

On the 2d of September, a fortnight after her landing, she had to undergo the ordeal of a popular demonstration by the citizens of Edinburgh. They were to make a "propine" or goodwill-offering to her.[2] It was a present of a cupboard "double overgilt," which had cost 2000 merks. The giving of it was to be the occasion of a pageant, which was to salute her in a progress through the city. It was witnessed by one who chronicled in their order the events of the time, and the show delighted him, so far as to inspire some spirit into a narrative, the general merits of which are to be found in the brevity and precision with which he states in their proper order of sequence the events of that stirring period.[3]

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[1] See Knox, ii. 293.

[2] This term, "propine" or "propyne," rarely if at all used in England, was a favourite in Scotland in the sixteenth century. It is of classic and convivial origin, coming from the Greek and Latin for handing the partially-drained cup to the guest, or in English lyrical phraseology, "passing the bowl."

[3] The crisis of the pageant is as follows :—

"And thereafter, when she was rydand down the Castellhill, thai:

The Protestant clergy, and those of their political partisans who were also their followers in religion, had mixed the sentiment of the English Puritan with the Calvinism of the Huguenots, and disliked exhibitions and pastimes. On this occasion, however, there was something to propitiate them. There was the significant presentation of a Bible to the Popish queen; and the children resembling angels, who presented the propine, "made some speech concerning the putting away of the mess, and thereafter sang ane psalm."[1]

There were pageants or exhibitions of a less innocent character, which yet had a tendency that made them not entirely unwelcome to the Congregation. These were the ritualistic revels, called by the French the *fêtes des foux*. They are not to be confounded with the legitimate mys-

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met hir hienes ane convoy of the young men of the said burgh, to the nomber of fyftie or thairby, thair bodeis and theis coverit with yellow taffateis, thair armes and leggs, fra the kne doun, bair, cullorit with blak, in maner of Moris, upon thair heiddes blak hattis, and on thair faces blak visouris, in thair mouthis rings, garnesit with intellable precious staneis, about thair nekkis, leggis, and armes insynit of chenis of gold; togidder with saxtene of the maist honest men of the toun, cled in velvet gownis and velvet bonettis, berand and gangand about the paill under the whilk hir hienes raid, whilk paill wes of fyne purpour velvet lynit with reid taffateis, freingiet with gold and silk; and after thame wes ane cart with certane bairnes, togidder with ane coffer whairin wes the copburd and propyne whilk suld be propynit to hir hienes. And when hir grace come fordwart to the butter-trone of the said burgh, the nobilitie and convoy foirsaid precedand, at the whilk butter-trone thair was ane port made of tymber in maist honourable maner, cullorit with fyne cullouris, hungin with syndrie armes, upoun the whilk port wes singand certane barneis in the meist hevinlie wyis; under the whilk port thair wes ane cloud opynnand with four levis, in the whilk was put ane bonny barne. And when the quenes hienes was cumand throw the said port, the said cloude opynnit, and the barne discendit doun as it had bene ane angell, and deliverit to her hienes the keyis of the toun, togidder with ane Bybill and ane Psalme-buik coverit with fyne purpourit velvet; and after the said barne had spoken some small speitches, he deliverit alsua to hir hienes thre writtingis, the tennour thairof is uncertane. That being done, the barne ascendit in the cloud, and the said clud stekit."—Diurnal of Occurrents, 67.

[1] Ibid. See an account of the same pageant, Knox's History, ii. 287, 288. He says, "The verses of her own praise she heard, and smiled; but when the Bible was presented, and the praise thereof declared, she began to frown."

teries, which were attempts, however unseemly, to impress religious notions on the people by the acting of the critical events in Scripture history in such a manner as to seize the attention and attract the admiration of the uninstructed. The others had nothing in them professing to aim at the reverent or devout, but were acts of profane ribaldry, of which the point was the travestying, by some lewd and brutal antithesis, the most solemn ordinances of the Church. They were generally pinned to something or other in sacred history. Conspicuous among them was the Feast of Asses. Its chief actor was the ass of Balaam, or one supposed to stand beside the manger, or that on which the Saviour rode. Whichever it might be, a donkey clad in grotesque canonicals was brought into the most sacred parts of the church, and there a brutal mob made sport of the beast to the full satiety of their lust of the profane. Another feast, more formidable if less disgusting, was dedicated to the Innocents, and brought the whole children of the neighbourhood to do their will among the vestments, ornaments, and shrines of the church. These things had been allowed to become an established formula of the decorous Church of Rome. How they arose, is a mystery which has defied solution. It has a literature of its own, and is worthy of far more zealous efforts to reach its causes and early history than any yet made.

If such observances were troublesome when the Church was powerful and revered, it is easy to believe what they would become when it was tottering to its fall. If there were rules by which the licensed ribaldry was restrained and measured out, the populace broke through them. They could thus, in following up old traditional usages of the Church, inflict the most stinging insults on the priesthood; and if the Church had thus provided a means of mortal injury in the house of its friends, its enemies were not naturally called on to interfere for its relief.

But the populace was impartial, and would have the revels condemned by the new Church as well as those that might offend the old. Queen Mary had arrived almost in time to find the city of Edinburgh tossed by a

bloody tumult. The tradesmen of the city would have the old pageant of Robin Hood and Little John. The Congregation would not abide it, and they had an Act of Parliament for its suppression, on their side. A riotous shoemaker was committed to the Tolbooth—the well-known Heart of Mid-Lothian. He was so far implicated that death was to be his doom. We see the influence at work in this rigid act, when we are told that his friends besought John Knox to procure his release; but Knox of course was obdurate, and would "do nothing but have him hangit." His comrades collected. They seized and locked up the magistrates, and tore down the gibbet; next they battered in the door of the prison and released their comrade, while, with a good-fellowship common to such occasions, they permitted all the inmates of the prison to escape. There was no force sufficient to contend with them, and the magistrates were glad to make terms on the foundation of a general amnesty.[1]

To return to the young queen, set down amid all these contending elements, great and small. She had many difficulties to deal with, formidable among which was that she, a thorough devotee of the Church of Rome, had come among a people of whom the greater portion, including all the ruling men, had become Protestants. There was little toleration in that age, and it was a thing undreamed of in France, whence both parties took their principles. When at any time there was religious quietness there, and Protestants had rights as well as their opponents, it was in reality but a truce between enemies prepared soon to fly at each other's throats—each abstaining only because the other was too nearly his equal in strength to be easily prostrated.

The contest broke out on the first Sunday after her arrival. It was known, of course, that she would hear private mass in her chapel; and whether on the grounds of Christian toleration, or of the promises made to her, it was useless to argue with men who, in the words of Knox, "began openly to speak, 'Shall that idol be suffered to

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, 65.

take place again within this realm? It shall not;'" or with the Master of Lindsay and his followers from Fife, "The idolater priest shall die the death according to God's law." Some violence was done to a priest carrying a candle; and the chapel would have been burst open had not the Lord James defended the door—an act for which he was rebuked by Knox, who says in conclusion, "And so the godly departed with great grief of heart."

A proclamation was issued, denouncing, on the one hand, as penal, any attempt to interfere with the form of religion which the queen found publicly and universally standing at her arrival in the realm; and, on the other hand, requiring that her French followers should not be molested in the private exercise of their religion. Inspired by a bold thought, however, the queen resolved to go to the root of the evil, and endeavour to talk over the formidable head of the Church. In demanding an interview with Knox, there is little doubt that she anticipated a triumph from her never-failing blandishments; and she courted the ordeal of the discussion as one seeks an arena where triumph seems secure. She had seen little in France to prepare her for the rugged nature on which she was to play her wit and allurements. No other person was present in the same room but the Lord James. It has been said that the Reformer treated the queen on the occasion with gross insult. It is probable that he did not observe very closely the complicated etiquettes of the French Court; but neither would the Scots nobles of the day, Protestant or Romish. Her grave brother would, doubtless, have protected her from absolute insult, had any been offered. Though there are many accounts of this renowned dialogue, the one given by Knox himself in his History is the source of all the others, and to that we must go back as the sole authority for the scene.[1] It is extremely picturesque and lifelike, and has the appearance of doing honest justice to the ready wit of the queen, as it certainly does to the relentless bigotry of the

[1] History, ii. 277 *et seq.*

narrator. She first rallied him on his attacks upon feminine rule in the tract which had been his stumbling-block with Queen Elizabeth—the Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women. He seems to have felt that, with matters of difference behind it far more serious, he need not have a contest on this with the Popish queen; and it was easily, if not gracefully, got over. He did not deny his objection to feminine rule, but he did not intend specially to attack her title—"that book was written most especially against that wicked Jezebel of England," Mary Tudor. For his part in the particular instance before him, "if the realm finds no inconvenience from the regiment of a woman," that which his countrymen approve he shall not gainsay, but shall be as well content to live under her grace "as Paul was to live under Nero." He afterwards, however, gave a casual but significant inference to this strong comparison, by arguments which referred to Paul living quietly at Rome because he was powerless and could not resist, while the Paul of Edinburgh was powerful, and had another line of duty before him. The queen turned the argument on resistance to princes. Her opponent asked, what would have been the fate of mankind had all adopted the religion of their princes — had Abraham worshipped with Pharaoh, and the apostles submitted to the religion of the Roman emperors? "and so, madam, ye may perceive that subjects are not bound to the religion of their princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience." With a ready dialectic power of which the Reformer, hurried on by his zeal, seems to have been unconscious, the queen marked off the difference between passive resistance, in which each subject individually worships according to his own conscience without regarding the religion of the ruler, and that desire to coerce the ruler to his own views, of which she accused Knox. But the very words of this portion of the dialogue are necessary to express its import. The queen remarked that none of those he had referred to raised their sword against their princes.

"'Yet, madam,' quoth he, 'ye cannot deny but that they resisted; for they that obey not the commandments that are given, in some sort resist.'

"'But yet,' said she, 'they resisted not by the sword.'

"'God,' said he, 'madam, had not given unto them the power and the means.'

"'Think ye,' quoth she, 'that subjects having power may resist their princes?'

"'If their princes exceed their bounds,' quoth he, 'and do against that wherefor they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but what they may be resisted even by power. For there is neither greater honour nor greater obedience to be given to kings or princes than God has commanded to be given unto father and mother. But so it is, madam, that the father may be stricken by a frenzy in the which he would slay his own children. Now, madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword or other weapons from him, and finally bind his hands and keep him in prison till that his frenzy be overpast, think ye, madam, that the children do any wrong? Or think ye, madam, that God will be offended with them that have stayed their father to commit wickedness? It is even so,' said he, 'madam, with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy; and therefore to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast themselves in prison till that he be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because that it agreeth with the will of God.'"

The narrator here tells us that "at these words the queen stood, as it were, amazed more than a quarter of an hour." Nor can this be wondered at, if she saw the full import of the exposition, as showing that her profession of Romanism was like the frenzy of the parent—a thing which entitled the children to seize and bind, in self-protection against the bloody consequences. She spoke of her conscience, but was told that conscience required knowledge, and it was to be feared that of the right knowledge she had none. But she had heard and read—so

had the Jews who crucified Christ; they heard the law and the prophets, she the Pope and the cardinals. "'Ye interpret the Scriptures,' said she, 'in one manner, and they interpret in ane other—whom shall I believe, and who shall judge?'" The answer is ready. "'Ye shall believe,' said he, 'God that plainly speaketh in His Word;'" or, as a duller mind than hers would plainly see, she must obey Knox and the Congregation. Throughout the whole dialogue he does not yield the faintest shred of liberty of conscience, or leave it for one moment doubtful that the queen has any other course before her save submission.

And yet the interview seems in some measure to have warped the stern rigidity of his original purpose. He joined with those who were for giving her a trial, a backsliding of which he seems afterwards to have bitterly repented. It was plainly put, he says, that "she will be content to hear the preaching; and so, no doubt, but she may be won—and thus of all it was concluded to suffer her for a time." "So careful was I," he continues, "of that common tranquillity, and so loath was I to have offended those of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that in secret conference with earnest and zealous men I have travailed rather to mitigate, yea, to sloken that fervency that God had kindled in others, than to animate or encourage them to put their hands to the Lord's work—whereintil I unfeignedly acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly."

This view of the state of the Reformer's mind at that juncture is singularly confirmed by a remarkable letter written by him to Calvin, which has been lately found. It is dated from Edinburgh on the 24th of October 1561. It is the more curious as a private pouring out of its writer's griefs, that Knox had offered his services to obtain the opinion of Calvin and the fathers of the Geneva Church on the course which the Protestants should pursue in Scotland, and was stayed by Lethington, who offered to take that duty on himself —he was trimming at the time between the Court and the Congregation, and Knox charged him with making

the offer as an expedient to gain time.[1] Whatever Lethington may have done, the researches of the French antiquaries have shown, by producing the very document, that Knox was not to be deterred from his purpose of consulting Calvin.[2] It is the letter of a man sad at heart, and sincerely penitent for not having, in the hour of trial, been strong enough to do the stern duty which his faith demanded of him, and now willing to atone. He tells the mournful news that the idolatrous mass had again been set up in purified Scotland. There were those of gravity and authority who had thought that they could not in conscience stand by and permit this thing to be done. It had been pleaded that the clergy of Geneva, and himself, Calvin, had expressed an opinion that they were not entitled to prohibit the queen from openly professing her own religion. He desires to know if this is true; he courteously acknowledges how troublesome he has been for advice, but there is no other bosom on which he can repose his cares. He had never before seen how formidable and difficult it was to contend with hypocrisy, disguised under the name of piety. Never, in the midst of his hardest struggle with open enemies, had he despaired of victory; but so wounded was he by this perfidious defection from Christ—which its perpetrators chose to term indulgence—that strength was failing him for the labour before him.

It is probable that this letter never reached its destination. The answer it would have received can be easily anticipated. Even the faint remaining scruples entertained by Knox himself would have been at once dispersed by the conclusive logic of him who knew no doubts, and permitted no paltering between truth and error. We have here the beginning of a series of events in which it will be seen that, when it came to actual deeds, the Scots nation shrank from enforcing the rules of faith and action which they received from the sanguinary Huguenots.[3]

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[1] Knox, ii. 292.

[2] See the letter, which is in Latin, with a facsimile, Teulet, ii. 12.

[3] Dr M'Crie, criticising the observation of an anonymous French

Knox, before he wrote this letter, had in reality seen grounds for penitence in the alarming reaction towards Romanism. The Congregation had gradually lost a good deal of that absolute power which seemed to leave it as a question of discretion with them whether they would tolerate their sovereign's religion or not. The magistrates of Edinburgh had been in the practice, on their election, of issuing a proclamation against certain classes of criminals and profligates, calling them by names which, however appropriate, it is not now deemed decorous needlessly to repeat. On this occasion they added to the list the "massmongers" and the "obstinate Papists, that corrupted the people;" "which, blown in the queen's ears," says Knox, "there began pride and maliciousness to show the self." Proceedings were taken against the magistrates, and the town council were constrained to appoint others in their stead, who issued a proclamation of a different tenor, "and so got the devil freedom again where that before he durst not have been seen in the daylight upon the common streets. Lord, deliver us from that bondage!" Such is the pious ejaculation with which the Reformer relieves his mind ere he passes from this deplorable event.[1]

At a public banquet given by the city of Edinburgh to the queen and her Court, including her French followers, a mystery was performed, in which was enacted the destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, for burning strange fire on the altar. There was nothing palpable in

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writer who compares Popery with Calvinism, says of the reception of Queen Mary: "I maintain that, in the state of men's spirits at that time, if a Huguenot queen had come to take possession of a Roman Catholic kingdom with the slender retinue with which Mary went to Scotland, the first thing they would have done would have been to arrest her; and if she had persevered in her religion, they would have procured her degradation by the Pope, thrown her into the Inquisition, and burnt her as a heretic. There is not an honest man who can deny this."—P. 177. Perhaps not, if the affair had taken place in France or Spain. But there is no reason to suppose that any Roman Catholic prince who fell under the power of the French Huguenots would have experienced a better fate.

[1] Knox, ii. 289, 290, with Laing's notes.

this which might not tell against the one priesthood as well as the other, although it might be easy to know which was meant. But when the actors went on to parody the mass, and burn in effigy a priest in his canonicals, the Popish Earl of Huntly was permitted audaciously to suppress the performance. But there were other and more serious indications of the tendency of events, insomuch that "the devil, guiding his reins, ran forward in his course, and the queen took upon her greater boldness than she and Baal's bleating priests durst have attempted before."[1] A sort of crisis was brought on by the solemn celebration of Hallow mass. A meeting of the Congregation, lords, and clergy, was held in the house of Macgill, the lord clerk register, where it was gravely discussed, "whether that subjects might put to their hand to suppress the idolatry of their prince." The laymen present, with the Lord James and Lethington at their head, were for the most part favourable to the proposition "that the queen should have her religion free in her own chapel, to do, she and her household, what they list." The ministers seem to have unanimously voted against this proposition, maintaining that ere long "her liberty should be their thraldom." But the lay votes carried the proposition, so far as that meeting was concerned.

Another dispute among the Protestants, in which the clergy, nearly alone, held one side, carried the war into their own ground. They had adopted, besides the Confession of Faith, a Book of Discipline, being an outline of an organisation for the new Church. It is known as 'The First Book of Discipline.' They desired that it should have the sanction of the Crown and Parliament and be made the law of the land.

The Protestant nobles and lairds were ready to accept all denunciations of Antichrist and Popish idolatry, nor did they hesitate at accepting the Calvinistic doctrines of the new faith just as Knox and his assistant ministers set them forth, they had, hence, at once adopted the Confession of Faith in Parliament. But the Book of

[1] Knox. 291.

Discipline affected practice as well as faith, and enforced certain stringent restraints to which it would have been inconvenient for some, who were the readiest to subscribe propositions of theological metaphysics, to submit. Several, it is true, had found it expedient to sign the document; but Lethington, with a sneer, asked how many even of these would be subject to the conditions of that book; and he emphasised the taunt by saying, "Many subscribed these *in fide parentum*, as the bairns are baptised," meaning that the subscription was but the mere temporary conformity for obtaining an object, which men submit to when they ask for a ceremonial such as a baptism. Knox, whose ire was roused, reminded him that the book "was read in public audience; and by the space of divers days the heads thereof was reasoned, as all that here sit know well enough, and ye yourself cannot deny." Another of the laymen expressed the general impatience among them, by telling him at once "to stand content—that book will not be obtained." "Let God," said Knox, finding farther discussion useless, "require the lack which this poor commonwealth shall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of such as stop the same."[1]

Elsewhere, in a general view of the dispute, he leaves this emphatic testimony to the conduct and motives of his lay comrades in the work of reformation, when dealing with the Book of Discipline: "Some approved it, and will the same had been set forth by a law. Others, perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impaired, thereby grudged, insomuch that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto them. Everything that impugned to their corrupt affections was called in their mockage 'devout imaginations.' The cause we have declared: some were licentious; some had greedily gripped to the possessions of the Kirk; and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat, yea, and that before that ever He was hanged, as by the preachers they were oft rebuked. The chief great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the Book

[1] Knox, ii. 298.

of Discipline, was the Lord Erskine; and no wonder, for besides that he has a very Jezebel to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the Kirk had their own, his kеching would lose two parts and more of that which he unjustly now possesses. Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that professes godliness, should of so long continuance hear the threatenings of God against thieves and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore anything of that which long they had stolen and reft. There was none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than were they which had greatest rents of the churches." [1]

The inspiring cause of this wrath was a matter, partly involved in the question of the Book of Discipline, which also came in a separate shape. It was an affair of the keenest temporal interest to both sections of the congregation—the lay and the spiritual; an interest not common, but antagonistic. It was the weighty question of the funds on which the Reformed Church was to be supported. The Protestant clergy had no fixed source of income, though the Book of Discipline dealt with them as persons entitled to and obtaining a comfortable provision. There is, indeed, a savour of practical sense and worldly wisdom in this portion of the original standards of the Presbyterian Church, which says much for the discernment and ability of its founders in matters of secular importance. After setting forth the appointments and supplies proper to a minister's house, in which are included "forty bolls meal and twenty-six bolls malt, to find his home-bread and drink," there is provision for the "education and up-setting of his sons, and for his daughters being virtuously brought up and honestly doted when they came to maturity of years." These requirements, the framers of the document protest, are not so much for their own sakes as for the increase of virtue and learning, and the profit of the posterity to come; for "it is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate

[1] Knox, ii. 128, 129.

himself and children so to God, and to serve His Kirk, that they look for no warldly commodity. But this cankered nature whilk we bear is provoked to follow virtue when it seeth honour and profit annexed to the same; as contrarily, then, is virtue of many despised when virtuous and godly men live without honour. And sorry would we be that poverty should discourage men from study, and from following the way of virtue, by whilk they might edify the Kirk and flock of Christ Jesus."[1]

The Assembly passed some acts or orders professing to exercise authority over the tithes or "spiritualities" of benefices, and charitably resolved "that all such as have been in the ministry of the Pope's Kirk, good and well-conditioned persons, that they shall live upon the alms of the Kirk with the number of the poor." As yet, however, they had not touched the temporalities. These yet remained with those Popish beneficiaries whose ecclesiastical functions were abolished by law; but, in a great measure, the property was theirs only nominally. Many of the ecclesiastical corporations, hopeless, apparently, of ultimate victory in the struggle, disposed of the property committed to them in long leases, mortgages, or absolute conveyances, under conditions which would not easily bear inspection in reference to the fairness of the transactions and the disinterestedness of those who became parties to them. The lords and lairds who obtained legal claims over ecclesiastical property by such arrangements were likely to hold their own with a much firmer gripe than the tottering ecclesiastical foundations, and that was the reason why it was deemed politic to make arrangements with them. For a few years both before and after the eventful epoch of 1560, there was a continued process of absorbing ecclesiastical within temporal domains—or a continuous "birsing yont," as it has been expressively called—by the lay landholders.

The transference was not effected without some pressure on the hopes and fears of the ecclesiastics who had

[1] Buke of Discipline,—the Fifth Head, concerning the provision for the ministers, and for the distribution of the rents and possessions justly appertaining to the Kirk.

the power to make the desired arrangements, and even some violence to their persons. Of how this might come to pass, the method pursued by Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, called in his own neighbourhood the "King of Carrick," may be taken as an expressive example. We are told by the family historian that this Gilbert "was ane particular man, and ane very greedy man, and cared not how he gat land, so that he could come by the same." He had his eye on a few of the estates of the Abbey of Glenluce, and had dealings with the abbot about them. That abbot, however, died before the writs were signed, "and then he dealt with ane monk of the same abbacy, wha could counterfeit the abbot's hand-writ and all the haill convent's, and gart him counterfeit their subscriptions." When this was done, fearing that the monk might make unpleasant revelations, he got a certain carl to "stick" or stab him, and then he got one to accuse the carl of theft, "and hang him in Crosragall, and so the lands of Glenluce were conquest." [1]

The next step was the "conqueshing" of the estates of the Abbey of Crossraguel, of which the extensive ruins may yet be seen. The domestic buildings of the fraternity have not here been so completely destroyed as in other places, probably because the "King of Carrick" preserved them for his own use. It was his desire that certain writs should be executed in his favour—to wit, "a five-year tack and a nineteen-year tack, and a charter of feu of all the lands of Crossraguel." The commendator of the abbey was unwilling to sign the writs, and shy of approach. He was waylaid, however, and brought face to face with the "king," who introduced him to a chamber where there was a roaring fire, prepared, as the host said savagely facetious, for roasting meat. The commendator saw his fate at a glance, but held out till he was stripped or "skinned," as the narrator says, basted with grease, and scorched until his hand barely retained power to sign the deeds. The

[1] History of the Kennedies, Bannatyne's Journal, 55. In Scotland, the landed property which any one has acquired by purchase is distinguished from inheritance by the term "conquest," in its modern acceptation sometimes considered descriptive of the method of acquisition.

Privy Council so far took notice of this affair as to require Cassilis to find security to the extent of £2000, not to molest the person or the property of the commendator.[1] Men who had done such things to acquire lands were not likely to part with them without knowing why.

The Protestant clergy, sagacious as they were about many things, seem to have made the mistake of supposing that the active energy with which their lay brethren helped them to pull down Popery was actually the fruit of religious zeal, and to have expected that they took from the one Church merely to give to the other. The landholders, on their part, thought such an expectation so utterly preposterous, that they did not condescend to reason with it; but, without any hypocritical attempt to varnish their selfishness, called the expectations of the ministers "a fond imagination."

There were, thus, three classes of claimants on the property of the Church—the old clergy, the laymen who had obtained rights from them, and the ministers of the Reformation. The Privy Council resolved to deal with this matter by a process which had the merit of simplicity. They were to appropriate to the Crown the fourth, and if necessary, the third, of the ecclesiastical benefices for new uses; it was found necessary to take the third, and the transaction is known in law and history as "the assumption of thirds of benefices." It was carried out by a series of Acts of Council, very secular in their tenor, and seeming as if they avoided the nomenclature of the Romish hierarchy on the one hand, and of Presbyterian perfection and supremacy on the other.[2] The purposes to which these thirds were to be applied are thus set forth: "Sae muckle thereof to be employed to the queen's majesty, for entertaining and setting forward of the common affairs of the country; and sae muckle thereof unto the ministers, and sustentation of the ministry, as may reasonably sustain the same, at the sight

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[1] Douglas's Peerage, i. 332.

[2] The most accurately printed copies of these Acts of the Council are in Mr Laing's edition of Knox

and discretion of the queen's majesty foresaid; and the excrescence and surplus to be assigned unto the old possessors." One department of ecclesiastical property was to be specially dealt with. The revenues drawn within towns by monastic establishments, whether in the shape of rents of property or in the more invidious form of local taxes or privileges, were specially designed for the entertaining of "schools and colleges," and other like uses; and it was at the same time recommended that, as "nothing is more commodious" for such uses than the friaries and other edifices which had belonged to the monastic bodies, such of them as had not been demolished should be kept up for these uses.

When there was delay in giving in the valuations of the estates, stewards were sent down by the Council to estimate the "rentals." As these officers would be apt to affix a higher value to the estates than those in possession, the alternative had the effect of stimulating the preparation of the returns in the proper quarter. As a sort of sanction against the under-estimating of the rentals, the tenants on the ecclesiastical estates were authorised to hold the rents returned as the maximum which they were bound to pay; for instance, if a farm were returned by the holder or owner as of so much "rental" or annual value, the tenant farming it was acquitted if he paid that amount of rent.

For all the precautions taken, however, it seems clear that the returns were imperfect and to a great extent false. Of the three parties interested, the ecclesiastics, unless Archbishop Hamilton be an exception, do not seem to have complained. Such a remnant of their possessions was a boon which the tenor of recent events had placed beyond their expectation; and if something was taken from them, what remained was secured, so far as anything could be in that age, by an adjustment which professed to be final. The two-thirds of the fund unappropriated were supposed to remain in the hands of the ecclesiastics of the old Church, on the principle of each retaining a vested life-interest in the greater part of his old income. As these died out, the benefices seem to

have fallen to the Crown for miscellaneous disposal. But there is no doubt that a very large portion of these revenues had already, in the manner referred to, got into lay hands. It might have been expected that these lay holders, who had come recently into possession, and held in many instances by questionable tenures, should have readily acquiesced in an arrangement which secured to many of them a lion's share in the two-thirds. But in the general case they seem to have thought the chance of keeping what they could with the strong hand a preferable alternative, and there was throughout the whole body much growling at the disgorgement they were called on to make.

It was to the ministers, however, who were to be sustained out of the thirds, that the arrangement was least pleasing, since they had settled in their own minds that the sudden overturn of the Romish Church was virtually a transference of its wealth to their own body. They protested vehemently from their pulpits, Knox giving them the key-note, and saying, "Well, if the end of this ordour, pretended to be taken for the sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment faileth me; for I am assured the Spirit of God is not the author of it; for first I see twa parts freely given to the devil, and the third maun be divided betwixt God and the devil. Weel, bear witness to me that this day I say it. Ere it be long the devil shall have three parts of the third, and judge ye then what God's portion shall be." A commission collected the money, and adjusted the claims on it. To pay the ministers' stipends was the special function of the Laird of Pitarrow, "an earnest professor of Christ," whose conduct in the business was, however, such as to call forth the suggestive analogy, "Who would have thought that when Joseph ruled Egypt, that his brethren should have travailed for victuals and have returned with empty sacks unto their families?"[1]

The allowance made to the ministers varied from one hundred to three hundred merks a-year. The amount

[1] Knox, ii. 310.

gave rise to a curious comparison, which shows how extremely poor many of the Scots aristocracy then were, and how considerable were the merely worldly aspirations of the Protestant clergy. It was said that there were many lords who had not so much to spend. Whereon it is remarked in Knox's History, where the justness of the comparison seems to be admitted, "Men did reason that the vocation of ministers craved of them books, quietness, study, and travail, to edify the Kirk of Jesus Christ; and therefore that the stipends of ministers, who had none other industry but to live upon that which was appointed, ought not to be modified according to the livings of common men, who might and did daily augment their rents by some common industry."[1] So enormously rich had the Romish hierarchy become, that a mere fragment of their wealth—much less than a third—was sufficient to endow a ministry on terms bearing comparison with the incomes of the aristocracy.

There were several political causes urging the queen's Government to moderation; and in the person of her brother, the Lord James, who took the helm as if it naturally belonged to him, she had a pilot willing to take this course, and able to keep it with a strong hand.[2] Elizabeth sent her ambassador Throckmorton ostensibly to see to the fulfilment of the treaty of Edinburgh, but at the same time to keep his eye on many other things. The question of Mary's right to succeed Elizabeth in the English throne was opened, and though it was not conceded, neither was it denied. The settlement of this question was rather evaded than furthered, by a proposal that the

[1] Knox, ii. 312.

[2] On the 1st of May Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth from France, saying that it had been the intention of Queen Mary to give the Lord James a commission under her seal to administer the government until her arrival, but that it was not given. "The special cause why she has changed her opinion of Lord James, is because she could not dissuade him from his devotion to the Queen of England, and the observation of the league between her and the realm of Scotland; and also for that she and the Cardinal of Lorraine could not win him from his religion, wherein they used very great means and persuasions."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 91.

two queens should meet each other in Queen Elizabeth's realm. In its undefined shape the suggestion was accepted by both. So far as the discussion about the meeting took a practical shape, it was held that Queen Mary must not travel to Windsor like a vassal to do homage; for "her honour," as it was termed, her sister must come northward to the border to meet her. Then, that there might be no taint of a suspicion that treachery was intended, Queen Mary, if she found her sister affable, would pass southward with her, and enjoy the hospitality of the English Court. Mighty results were anticipated from the meeting, but vaguely, as the astrologers used to draw their inferences from planetary conjunctions. The accomplished French-bred queen might throw the spells of her fascination on her home-reared sister, but to what end? On the other hand, unless it were that Queen Elizabeth could persuade Queen Mary to become a Protestant—and this, among the least possible of human achievements, was gravely anticipated—no beneficial result could be reached through the process of cause and effect by those who discussed the scheme. Much eagerness was expressed by the two queens to see and caress each other, and the longings of Queen Mary for such a consummation were very eloquent; but in all this, too, there was a hollowness. The project was of the visionary kind that is easily dispelled by a practical difficulty, and such a difficulty appeared in the most sordid of shapes. Where was the money for a royal progress to be found? In fact the project would impoverish Scotland, already poor enough. At that time the coinage of Scotland was in a state of transition. Its direction, in comparison with English money, was towards deterioration, and there was no fixed scale of equivalents for the immediate convertibility of the one currency into the other. A phenomenon often noticed by travellers in small separate Continental states at the present day was exemplified in Scotland, a desire to get rid of the native coin, and to get possession of the English. It was said of the Scots dealers in native produce, that instead of sending their goods to England, and getting remittances in the usual mercantile shape—which even then endeavoured

to settle accounts without the removal of bullion from place to place—they travelled to Berwick, sold their goods there, and carried the price home in English money. So great was the outcry against this that the practice was stopped by force; and it was said on the side of Scotland that the rough-handed borderers who carried the regulation into effect, not only confiscated the English money found in the purses of the Scots, but even condescended to seize such poor items of beggarly Scots coinage as they possessed.[1] The bearing of all this on a royal progress

[1] For such a charge there seems to have been better foundation than one might expect to find. In March 1562, the Council of Berwick address their queen to allay suspicions about the drainage of English gold into Scotland. "She having signified that merchants, haberdashers, creel-men, pedlars, and foot-packers, continually resort here and the adjoining marches, and for their wont carry away the fine moneys; they assure her that they never knew so few of that faculty repair hither at this instant; and such as do, are victuallers and sellers of linen cloth and other things, which could not be spared by the people of this town. Also, that they stand bound with Englishmen not to carry away coin. To prevent them from purloining money from hence, the writers have appointed searchers to ransack them; and sometimes they find English moneys, which they take from them, and as much of the Scots coin as is found with the same for the greater terror."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 557. Any one studying the currency equivalents of the period would probably find assistance in a paper that had belonged to Cecil, and is endorsed by him as "William Humphrie's opinion concerning Scottish money." The "opinion" is a set of calculations of equivalents, in which the calculator found that "the money of Scotland cannot be reduced into English money without the use of fractions of the penny, which is to be divided by 32." The estimate speaks of "the bawbee," or the "babie," current for 6d. Scots, showing the term to have been older than the babyhood of James the Sixth, given to it by tradition." The babie current for 6d. Scottish, 3 oz. silver in the lb. troy, which contains 192 babies, each worth seventeen-eighths of a penny.—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 500.

The laws for keeping English gold at home were marked by the ferocity of the English protective laws of that period. There is a pathetic case of Thomas Sampson, an Englishman, who had been a linen-draper in Cheapside, but had fallen into poverty, and having carried a pike at the siege of Leith, remained there after the pacification. Between Leith and Berwick he "trafficked in kind of merchandise in selling leather;" being watched, he "was taken by two soldiers, with 23 lib. of new money, and one angel of gold, as he was passing without Berwick towards Leith." This is told by Sir

into England was, that as the Scots money would not pass in England, the cost must be paid for in English currency, and would probably draw out the whole of that precious commodity in the possession of Scotland. The weight of this impediment is enhanced by a suggestion of Randolph's to remove it, by clearing accounts between the two coinages at Berwick.[1] In the midst of a discussion on this difficulty, the project of a meeting and solemn conference between the Queen of England and the Queen of Scotland seems to have dropped.[2]

The Guises, with a considerable French following, still remained in Scotland; and they thought it wise, while the great question of the English succession stood in doubt, to help rather than interrupt the moderate counsels of the Lord James. This able man was gradually strengthening his hands. In 1562 he married the daughter of the powerful Earl Marischal. The wedding was followed by a grand banquet, destined by its magnificence to provoke the cynical reproaches of Knox, who was ever doomed to find the world regaining possession of those whom he fondly believed that he had rescued from its influences. On this occasion Mary performed one of those graceful and effective courtesies for which she possessed a gift. She drank to the health of Queen Elizabeth in a heavy golden cup, which she presented to Randolph

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Francis Leeke, the governor of the fortifications of Berwick, who informs the Privy Council that the money taken from Sampson had not been left with the soldiers who caught him, in terms of the proclamation. His suggestion is, that, "if it seems good to the queen to extend her mercy to the poor man in favour of his life, yet he would wish for example's sake that the soldiers had the money."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 16th October 1560.

[1] "The greatest kind of difficulty is, that all kinds of gold that is current in England, is very scant here. The matter being considered, the Queen of England should send to Berwick so much treasure as they may have Scottish money there—only gold or testons of good silver—and have English money for the same. The Scottish money may serve to pay soldiers, workmen, or others. It is said to him that this will be the only stay of the journey."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 1862, p. 631.

[2] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 1861-62, p. 488, 492, 511, 538, 565, 571, 575, 606, 608; 1862, p. 144, 148.

the ambassador.[1] The Lord James was at the same time created Earl of Mar. He was known but for a short period by this title. It was claimed for the family of Erskine, and the Lord James became Earl of Moray, or, as it is generally termed, Murray, the title by which he is best known in history.

He was immediately afterwards engaged in one of the many expeditions against the thieving borderers. Of this expedition, which must have been full of interest, we have nothing but the results—fifty-three of the most noted outlaws apprehended, of whom eighteen were drowned for "lack of trees and halters," and six were hanged in Edinburgh.[2] There is no trace of these punishments to be found in the criminal records. By a sort of tacit understanding, borderthieves, like Highlanders, were not deemed within the pale of the law; and the slaughter of them was a matter of interest solely as to its amount, as marking, like the head of game brought down in a day's sport, a successful or an unsuccessful raid. There are, however, several prosecutions for "abiding from the raid of Jedburgh," as it was called—that is to say, for not complying with the royal proclamation to join the expedition—a defalcation which, in the instance of any border chief, was naturally deemed suspicious. From these trials it appears that the raid lasted for twenty days, beginning on the 13th of November 1562.[3]

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[1] P. F. Tytler, vi. 258.

[2] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 149.

[3] The excuse pleaded for absence was generally extreme ill-health. Ramsay of Dalhousie, for instance, protested that he was "vexed with sic distress in his person that he might not ony ways travel, nother on horse nor foot, to na space, by reason his hail left side was so occupied and troubled with evil and malign humours, sic as he can nought declare nor specify—that his haill arms, fingers, and leg on that side, wherethrough that he might not move the same."—Pitcairn, i. 421.

CHAPTER XLII.

QUEEN MARY.

(Continued.)

DANGERS IN THE NORTH—POSITION OF HUNTLY AS LEADER OF THE ROMANIST PARTY — MURRAY'S DESIGNS — A ROYAL PROGRESS—HUNTLY'S FEARS FROM IT — HE ARMS — BATTLE OF CORRICHIE——RUIN OF THE HOUSE OF HUNTLY—QUEEN MARY'S POLICY IN ASSISTING IN THE RUIN OF HER FRIENDS—POSITION OF MARY'S GOVERNMENT — ASPECT OF FIRMNESS AND MODERATION — HER HOME-LIFE AND AMUSEMENTS—HER POPULARITY—FURTHER DIALOGUES WITH KNOX—QUESTION AS TO WHAT LANGUAGE THEY WERE HELD IN?—PROSECUTIONS OF ROMANIST PRIESTS—ARCHBISHOP HAMILTON—THE QUEEN'S DEVOTEDNESS TO HER CHURCH — HER FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE — COMMUNICATION TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT—PAPAL EMISSARIES—ASSASSINATION OF HER UNCLE—PARLIAMENT—TENDENCY TO A REACTION AGAINST THE PROTESTANT PARTY — FURTHER ALTERCATIONS BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND KNOX—RIOTOUS ATTACK ON OFFICIATING PRIESTS—THE RIOTERS BROUGHT TO TASK—FEELING AMONG THE PROTESTANT CLERGY.

We next follow the queen and Murray to a contest in the opposite end of the country, the cause and character of which can only be seen by going back a little way into the past. We have found that the policy of the Crown in dealing with the old half-independent districts, inhabited chiefly by people of Celtic race, was to root out the power of their original local chiefs, and to encourage the predominance over them of some neighbouring family of rank and power. Thus, in the west, the house of Argyle

governed ; in the north, that of Huntly. Even in such hands, however, the spirit of the old troublesome Maarmorate had a tendency to develop an independent principality. The family of Huntly possessed estates on the east coast, estates cultivated by the most industrious among the Lowland tenantry. From these they drew a goodly revenue. This enabled them to keep high court, and strengthen their rule over the vast Highland territory to the north and west ; for over all the district now beyond the Caledonian Canal and the lakes it unites, the "Cock of the North" was supreme in one shape or other. He kept princely state in his Castle of Strathbogie ; and events afterwards revealed that its sumptuous furnishings shamed those of the royal palace. He had the flourishing town of Aberdeen, with its university and cathedral, by way of capital. Here he seems to have had a small fleet, with which he kept up foreign communications, as little under restriction from the Court of Holyrood as those of the King of Norway or Denmark might be. The Earl of Huntly of that day was an accomplished man and a politician. He frequented the Court of France, where he received the decoration of St Michael, and would probably rank with the sovereign of any secondary German or French state. What he might be doing in strengthening himself by alliances, or surrounding himself by troops, was not easily to be discovered by those outside of his own dominions. The Government in Edinburgh could but guess at them, as our rulers in India might at the doings of some native prince who professes to hold by British protection in a distant inaccessible territory. He had been playing some deep game with the Lords of the Congregation. It seemed to them at one time that they had him, having bought him with a price—a large share in the ecclesiastical estates so profusely distributed. But there is little doubt that he determined to stand forth as leader in a great contest for the old faith, and had made arrangements accordingly, treating with the Guises, and organising the people under his own banner. Murray, when his followers jostled those of Huntly's ambassador in

the village of Vitry, must have come to the knowledge that Huntly had deep projects. Whether or not he knew exactly that an army of twenty thousand men had been offered to the queen, he knew enough to tell him that he must crush Huntly ere the power he yet held as head of the Congregation slipped from his grasp. Murray had further and personal motives for trying his strength with Huntly. The estates belonging to his own new earldom were in Huntly's hands, whether under any regular title or by mere occupancy, and would not be got for him who owned them under a crown charter, except by force.

It was determined that the queen and Murray should make a royal progress northwards, and visit Huntly. Ostensibly the Court was to do him honour; but he had his own reasons for suspecting that something of another kind was in view. Matters at Strathbogie Castle were not in a condition to be inspected by eyes like Murray's. Incidentally we know that the vestments and treasures of the Cathedral of Aberdeen—the monuments of idolatry, as they would be called—were deposited in Huntly's stronghold, that they might be restored to the Church in its day of triumph.[1] These things might be hidden out of sight, to be sure; but it would be impossible to obliterate all testimony that here were the headquarters of the enemy.

An incident that seemed in itself of little moment connects itself with this affair. A quarrel which Huntly's son, Sir John Gordon, had with Ogilvy of Findlater, broke into a bloody conflict on the streets of Edinburgh. Gordon was seized, and put in prison; but the Scots prisons were ever notorious for their unretentiveness of prisoners of his rank. This Sir John, who was not the heir of Huntly, but only his fourth son, was among the countless lovers with whom Queen Mary's name is mixed up. The historian of the earldom of Sutherland says he was "a comely young gentleman, very personable, and of good expectation, whom she loved entirely."[2]

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[1] See Inventories of Queen Mary's Jewels, pref. xxv. p. 53.

[2] Gordon's History of the Earl of Sutherland, 140.

Soon after this affair, the queen with her brother took their royal progress northwards. They started in August 1562. To have gone without a sufficient force, would have been a folly of which Murray was not likely to be guilty; and Huntly felt by no means satisfied with the form in which his sovereign approached him. Wisely keeping at a distance himself, he sent his wife, as a sort of ambassador and spy, to meet the queen at Aberdeen, and try to discover whether she came in peace or war. She was courteously invited to the earl's fortress-palace at Strathbogie. She declined, however, to countenance the house of Huntly while one of its members was a fugitive from justice, and demanded that Sir John Gordon should "enter himself in ward" again —that is, go back to prison. It appears that he went so far southward with the intention of doing so, but changed his mind. The royal party ran some risk. Murray, had he fallen into the hands of the Gordons, would not have been spared; and they would have had little hesitation in keeping the queen herself in pledge for their lives and fortunes. It appears that when sojourning in the stronghold of the Leslies of Balquhain, of which a battered tower still remains, about twenty miles from Aberdeen, the queen and Murray both made a narrow escape from seizure. They passed on to Inverness, where, desiring admission to the castle, it was closed against them. This was all the more audacious an act, that the castle was not a strength attached to Huntly's own dominions; it was nominally a royal castle, Huntly holding it as hereditary sheriff of the district. A siege was begun. In this conflict with royalty, some of the clans which had submitted hitherto to the iron rule of Huntly found that they had an opportunity of deserting with the merit of loyalty. The Clan Chattan remembered how their chief had, a few years before, been beheaded before the gate of Strathbogie Castle; and with the Frasers and Monros, they abandoned the banner of Huntly. The castle was taken, and the governor hanged.

On returning, the queen's party were taught to expect an attack at the crossing of the Spey. They passed it unassailed, but on the occasion the queen was in the full

sense of the term exposed to the casualties of war, for it was not in the overwhelming strength of the royal force, but the large body that had passed over from Huntly to the queen, that her exemption from a battle lay; and Randolph had an opportunity in reporting the affair to Cecil, of moralising on the desperate blows that would have been given when all fought in the sight of so noble a queen and so many fair ladies.[1]

When the queen and Murray approached Aberdeen, Huntly, who seemed to think that his best chance of avoiding ruin was in war rather than submission, followed them, designing some bold stroke. There was a fight—sometimes called a battle—on the declivity of Corrichie, a long flat hill from fifteen to eighteen miles west of Aberdeen. Huntly's force, which had dwindled down, was easily defeated. The earl was found dead on the field—smothered, as it was said, in his armour. His body was brought to Edinburgh, that doom of forfeiture might be pronounced on it; and there is extant the record of certain payments to an adept for treating it with vinegar, aqua vitæ, powders, odours, and other necessaries, to prevent it from putrifying.[2] Sir John Gordon was convicted of treason, and beheaded at Aberdeen, where the queen attended his public execution.

When Huntly was in the flush of power he found a convenient capital for his principality in Aberdeen, though it is not certain that he exercised his powers there with the full concurrence of the citizens. At all events, they gave their queen a loyal and hospitable reception. "She was honourably received with spectacles, plays, interludes, and other things as they could best devise." "They presented her with a cup of silver double gilt, with 500 crowns in it; and wine, coals, and wax, as much as will serve her during her being here."[3]

The power of the house of Huntly was thus broken, and the event, though in the ordinary phraseology of history it was but the suppression of a rebellion and the punishment of its leaders, was an important national

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 319.
[2] Laing's Knox, ii. 359, note.
[3] Randolph to Cecil, Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 319.

revolution. The breaking and dispersal of so great a fabric of power by a single day's events afforded to the Reformed clergy a great occasion for addressing their hearers on the vanity and uncertainty of human greatness, and the punishment which in due time visits those who lift themselves up against eternal power. One of them—no doubt it was Knox himself—in pointing, for the benefit of Mary's courtiers, the moral of the event, affords a curious personal sketch of the public deportment of the great earl: "Unto you do I say, that that same God who from the beginning has punished the contempt of His word, and has poured forth His vengeance upon such proud mockers, shall not spare you, yea, He shall not spare you before the eyes of the same wicked generation, for the pleasure whereof ye despise all wholesome admonitions. Have ye not seen ane greater than any of you sit picking his nails, and pull down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression, and such vices were rebuked? Was not his common talk, 'When the knaves have railed their fill, then they will hold their peace'? Have ye not heard it affirmed in his own face, that God should revenge that his blasphemy even in the eyes of such as were witness to his iniquity? There was the Earl Huntly accused by you as the maintainer of idolatry, and only hinderer of all good order. Him has God punished even according to the threatenings that his and your ears heard, and by your hands hath God executed His judgments. But what amendment in any case can be espied in you? Idolatry was never in greater zest—virtue and virtuous men were never in more contempt—vice was never more bold, and less feared punishment. And yet who guides the queen and Court? Who but the Protestants? O horrible slanderers of God and of His holy evangel! better it were unto you plainly to renounce Jesus Christ, than thus to expose His blessed evangel to mockage."[1]

That the queen should have dealt so hardly with the champion of that faith to which she was ever devoted, and of which we shall find that she was working for the res-

[1] Knox, ii. 362.

toration, has been felt as one of the mysteries of history. She not only did what had to be done, but seemed to do it with heart and will. The solemn Randolph tells how, while the contest was yet undecided, and Huntly might intercept her at the Spey, "In all these garboils I assure you I never saw her merrier, never dismayed, nor never thought that so much to be in her that I find. She repented nothing; but—when the Lords and others at Inverness came in the morning from the watch—that she was not a man to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk on the causeway with a jack and knapschalle, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword." [1]

For solving the mystery of her conduct on this occasion, familiarity with the tenor of Scots, or even of English history, does not prepare us. In these we find many deeds of passion, and cruelty, and rapine—some pieces of perfidy too, such as the kidnapping projects of Henry VIII., or his daughter's barefaced mendacity. But all was something utterly different from the profound dissimulation of that political school of which Catherine of Medici was the chief instructor, and her daughter-in-law an apt scholar. Covered over as the underworkings of wickedness were by a fair outside of art, literature, courtesy, gentleness, and loving-kindness, it was likened by the oft-used parallel of a fair country, with its meadows, gardens, and peaceful homes, covering volcanic fires that might any day break through it. To feel the spirit in which this young queen could assist in the ruin of her friend, we must realise the halls of the Louvre, with their splendid tapestries and statues, their perfumes and pet poodles, filled with an assemblage of gallant courtiers and gay ladies, full of wit and pleasantry and courtly kindness, while Henry of Navarre, the gayest of all, his pleasant face beaming with jollity and careless good-humour, has yet all his faculties at their utmost tension to detect the first premonitions of murder; or we must enter the chamber of the wounded Coligny, and find that vain headstrong youth who had tried to murder him, and was preparing to try again, pouring

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 1562, p. 304.

meek condolence into the ear of the wounded man, and seducing him to the belief that his king held him in love and honour.

Queen Mary was at this time in the hands of the Protestant party. She was utterly destitute of any power to control or resist them, and none knew that obdurate fact better than herself. If we suppose that she was an apt pupil of the political school she had been reared in, we see her throwing her lot into the Protestant party, and seeming to abide by it with a willing heart as if it were her duty,—and so it was, by the doctrine of the same school—the duty of waiting patiently for the day of retribution. All this is in harmony with the counsel said by a wise observer to have been given to her before she left France—to serve the time, to commode herself discreetly and gently with her subjects, and to cherish her brother.[1] In the political correspondence of the day there may be traced an impression that she had become an apostate from her faith and policy. She was a woman alone in the midst of a Huguenot community, who with their old faith had deserted their old French alliance, and come under the influence of England, the stronghold of the new Church, and she had surrendered to conditions so overwhelming. How false such suppositions were we shall presently see; but the form in which they are revealed will show that her policy would have been worthless had the gossips of the day known all she was doing.

The year 1562 was a period of political sunshine to Randolph, the English resident. We find him telling how he is treated with condescending kindness. On Twelfth day he was absent from Court, through infirmity, and the queen sent her physician to him. He tries to understand her nature, and finds it to be candid. She may be believed in what she speaks and writes. In all her actions he sees the desire to propitiate his mistress, and follow her wise counsel. There is no danger from the interference of Lennox; she will not follow his advice, unless

[1] See the passage from Melville's Memoirs cited in the preceding chapter.

it concur with that of her sister queen. Of his son Darnley there have been whispers, as if he might become the husband of the queen; but her objections to him are insuperable. It is rumoured that by the advice of her uncle the cardinal, she is likely to embrace "the religion of England;" but Randolph has doubts of this. It is thought that there should be some Scotsman to represent her at the Court of England "for the better continuance of intelligence"—some one to serve Queen Mary as he serves Queen Elizabeth. The person he suggests to Cecil for this duty comes with surprise on those who learn it with the light of later events. "There is with the queen one called Mr George Buchanan, a Scottish man, very well learned, who was schoolmaster to M. De Busac's son, very godly and honest, whom I have always judged fitter than any other I know."[1] Buchanan might then have been in the ascendant at the Scots Court; and it must have taken all the mixed stoicism and cynicism of his nature to avoid the destiny of the courtier. It is one of the accidental details of Randolph's budget of news about the queen, that "she readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr George Buchanan, somewhat of Livy."[2]

It would be difficult to find in history a closer resemblance than the early government of Mary bore to a strong and deep-rooted moderate policy, holding in check the factious extremes of either side. The country had become Protestant, and the members of the Government were Protestants; yet they desired to protect the queen herself in the exercise of her religion, and broke with the extreme clerical party, which owned Knox as its head. Challoner, the English resident at Madrid, noted that King Philip and the Spanish Court were suspicious and angry about the supineness of Queen Mary, and her toleration of the heretics who infested her realm.[3] Perhaps Philip himself knew better, since his minister, Granvelle, was deep in Queen Mary's secrets. He had, however, a placid gift of fatalism that preserved him from serious alarm

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 30th Jan. 1562, p. 513, 576.
[2] Ibid., 584. [3] Ibid., 1561-62, 562.

when the Church and the divine right of sovereigns seemed in danger. There is a serene grandeur about his designs, even when we remember the wreck of the greatest of them. In Scotland the course before him was simple. When he had settled his difficulties with the Turk, he was to suppress heresy in Queen Mary's kingdom; and this duty mixed itself up with his matrimonial projects for himself and his son. He had not long to wait for symptoms that Queen Mary was no apostate. The elements of the political condition of the country, even without reference to subsequent events, are sufficient to show that the short peace was but an armed truce, in which each party was prepared to fly at its opponent's throat. "There is," says the English resident, "thrice in the week an ordinary sermon in the Earl of Murray's lodging in the queen's house, so near to the mass, that two so mortal enemies cannot be nearer joined without some deadly blow being either on the one side or the other."[1] It was the reproach of both, though pleaded by each in extenuation of its deeds, that the one could not permit the other to live without danger to its own existence.

Protestantism, nominally supreme, asserted its dignity in judicial proceedings against some adherents of the old religion. On the 17th of March 1562, Sir James Arthur, a priest, was prosecuted for solemnising baptisms and marriages "in the old abominable Papist manner." He came to the queen's will—that is to say, submitted to her mercy, and probably went unpunished.[2]

In spite of the lowering of the political atmosphere, and some actual storms, the first two years of Mary's reign were passed by her in a gaiety and geniality sadly in contrast with the gloomy remainder of her days. She possessed a strong elasticity of spirit, and, after the first shock was over, set herself to draw as much enjoyment as could be extracted from the humble resources now at her disposal. It was no longer as in France, where a Court

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 505.

[2] Pitcairn, i. 420*. It is curious that the record of his trial bears, that an extract of it was sent to the regent in 1569, as if he might then make some use of it.

party, roving on some sudden impulse to the distant bank of a stream, or the centre of a wood, found there all the luxuries of the palace laid at their feet by an expert and costly comissariat. Yet she was not to be imprisoned in a palace, and forfeit all the enjoyments of a free foot. The English ambassador Randolph, in his minute reports, details some little scenes of innocent gaiety, which it would be refreshing to meet with among the partly arid and partly appalling events he has to record, if the reader could feel any assurance that they were the outward symbol of an innocent and guileless heart. She went, for instance, with a few attendants to the house of a burgess in St Andrews. There Randolph followed her, and waited for three days in devouring impatience for an audience. When he could hold out no longer, and pressed through the light fence which royal raillery had set between them, she said, "I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I wish for you to be merry, and to see how like a burgess's wife I live with my little troop; and you will interrupt the pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great ambassade until the queen come thither; for, I assure you, you shall not see her here—nor I know not myself where she is become."[1]

Knox admitted that "in presence of her Council she kept herself very grave," but maintained that the scene was changed when business and ceremony were over; and "how soon soever the French fillocks, fiddlers, and others of that band gat the house alone, then might be seen skipping not very comely for honest women." In weighing the full merit of these old denunciations of the innocent amusement of dancing, it must be remembered that in that age the dance had often a meaning beyond the mere graceful cadenced exercise. The forms of the dance were often symbolical of interesting situations; and of how far these were delicate or decorous, we may judge by the books, such as those of Brantome and Margaret of Na-

[1] Raumer, Contributions, 26.

varre, which were the favourite literature of the dancers. Knox lifts his testimony against the dance "called the purpose," which the queen trod with Chatelar; and it is easy to believe it to have been sufficiently indecorous. In fact, the Puritans from that day having taken a loathing towards dancing such as they saw it, shut their eyes to it for the coming ages; and thus, to the amazement and ridicule of later times, blindly continued their old railing against it long after it had been purified of its indecorums. The wrath of Knox on this particular was raised to its climax by a suspicion that the queen made her dancing an active expression of her heterodoxy and malignancy; "and among others, he was assured that the queen had danced excessively till after midnight, because that she had received letters that persecution was begun in France, and that her uncles were beginning to stir their tail, and to trouble the whole realm of France." On this text he preached a stirring sermon, which brought about one of his renowned interviews with the queen. After having given her his mind with his usual freedom and emphasis about her uncles, he concluded by explaining to her that he was a public functionary doing his public duty, from which he was not to be drawn to waste his valuable time in dialogues with individual persons, unless in cases of urgency. "If your grace," he said, "please to frequent the public sermons, then doubt I not but ye shall fully understand both what I like and mislike, as well in your majesty as all others." He had no objection to her solemnly setting apart an occasion for his publicly expounding in her presence "the form and substance of doctrine which is proposed in public to the subjects of this realm"—a suggestion towards which the queen kept silence, probably not without a shudder. "But to wait," he continued, "upon your chalmer door or elsewhere, and then to have no farther liberty but to whisper my mind in your grace's ear, or to tell to you what others think and speak of you—neither will my conscience nor the vocation to which God hath called me suffer it." He was pleased to depart from this interview with "a reasonable merry countenance;" and

when he heard it remarked of bystanders that he was not afraid, he made the genial remark often quoted, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me? I have looked on the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been affrayed above measure."

A question will naturally arise, Were these dialogues held in the language in which Knox reports them? Singularly enough, among the many personal details about Queen Mary, none informs us distinctly of the extent to which she could understand or use the language of her people. It is not likely that she could speak it fluently on her arrival in Scotland, but we hear nothing of progress made in acquiring it; and in the various dialogues in which her sayings are reported—even in these sharp trials of wit and language with Knox—no instance occurs to us in which she appears, or is said to have been, at a loss for a proper expression. When Knox reports the sayings of her mother, they are generally in an imperfect or broken Scots vernacular, as the instances cited in previous chapters have shown. It is clear that her daughter was, while in Scotland, extremely chary of writing in any other language but the French. Running the eye over Labanoff's collection, it will be noticed that a letter taken from an autograph is invariably French. It must be inferred from this that the letters in the vernacular are not only in the handwriting, but in a great measure the composition, of a secretary. Sometimes to such a letter there is a postscript autograph and in French. The earliest specimen preserved in her autograph in the vernacular seems to be a postscript of a letter to the Earl of Argyle, of 31st March 1566, in these terms: "Wat ever bis sayed, bi sur off my gud mynd, and that ye sal persayve, command my to our bruder."[1] We shall afterwards find her taking lessons in English from her keeper Sir Francis Knollys, and writing to him what she called her first letter in that language. It must be inferred that her habitual language was French; and if we are to take from her the merit of disputing with Knox in the language which he learned when a boy in East

[1] Labanoff, i. 340.

Lothian, we must concede to him the accomplishment of speaking French so well that he did not fear an encounter in that language with a very clever woman, mistress of every art for enhancing her native qualities which the highest courtly training in the world could bestow. But, indeed, Knox had his own training to the task, for he had lived and preached in France.

The prosecution of a considerable body of recusants in 1563 was preceded by some discussions of a highly suggestive kind. Of course, in a country so little under control, the old religion was privately observed wherever the predominant feudal power of the district gave it any countenance. In the north, though the power of Huntly was broken, there cannot be a doubt that the bulk of the people, in as far as they were Christians, were Romanists; but they were too remote from the eye of justice to be prosecuted, or even watched. In the western districts south of the Clyde the territorial influence was so far divided that in some places the Romanists were enabled to resume their worship and observances, but not without risk from the vengeance of their Protestant neighbours. These were sternly urged by the clergy to put in force those laws against Popery which the Government were neglecting. The brethren "determined to put to their own hands," and "that they should neither complain to queen nor Council, but should execute the punishment that God has appointed to idolaters in His law, by such means as they might, wherever they should be apprehended."[1] The work was begun, and some seizures had been made, when the queen, who was at Lochleven, desired to have a conference with Knox. He went, and the dialogue is given with the usual emphasis in his History. The question why the royal prerogative was usurped by subjects was at once met by conclusive reasons and apt cases in point. "The sword of justice, madam, is God's, and is given to princes and rulers for one end, which if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing innocents, they that, in the fear of God, execute

[1] Knox, ii. 371.

judgments when God has commanded, offend not God. Although kings do it not, neither yet sin they that bridle kings to strike innocent men in their rage. The examples are evident; for Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate King of Amalek, whom King Saul had saved; neither spared Elijah Jezebel's false prophets and Baal's priests, albeit that King Ahab was present; Phinehas was na magistrate, and yet feared he not to strike Cozbi and Zimri,"—supplying, in the plainest words, the statement of their guilty conduct, which the terms of Scripture leave to be inferred.[1] The queen, of course, was not prepared to admit the soundness of the principles so explained and exemplified; and "she, being somewhat offended, passed to her supper." Knox, sullen and resentful, determined to return next morning to Edinburgh; but before the early May sunrise, messengers from the queen desired him to stay.

They had an interview, in which, judging from the only account of it—that of her antagonist—the queen showed consummate tact. She was "at the hawking," so she chose her own battle-field suited to her light weapons and restless strategy. The traces of last night's anger were totally obliterated—all was sunshine, gaiety, and good-humour. The talk skipped lightly from topic to topic at the queen's guidance until she could get it settled down on some topic on which her formidable companion could be kept interested. There was the offering of a ring to her by Lord Ruthven—he was one of her Council; but she could not love him, for she knew him to use enchantment. This failed to excite much interest. She next referred to Knox's own movements. He was going to Dumfries to act in the appointment of a superintendent of the Church there? "Yes, those quarters have great need, and some of the gentlemen so require." She then brings up the claims of the favoured candidate, Alexander Gordon, titular Archbishop of Athens, a son of the Master of Huntly, who held high preferment in the hierarchy, and having turned Protestant, desired to serve the new Church, and keep the emoluments he had from the old. She warned Knox

[1] See Numbers, chap. xxv.

against him, saying, "Do you as you will, but that man is a dangerous man;" and, oddly enough, Knox shows in his narrative that he afterwards found this to have been a sound warning. Still the queen, passing lightly from topic to topic, had found nothing to interest and enchain her formidable gossip; but she hit on it at last, by soliciting his services in restoring the heads of a great family to the observance of domestic duties and moralities. The Earl of Argyle had been married in 1554 to the Lady Jane Stewart. The queen, telling Knox that she must have his help in one of the gravest matters that had touched her since she came to the kingdom, threw herself with amiable simplicity on his friendly and confidential assistance, explaining that this sister of hers had not been so circumspect in all things as should be desired; "and yet," said she, "my lord, her husband, whom I love, entreats her not in many things so honestly and so godly as yourself would require."

The function of mediator, or rather of dispenser of discipline in such a matter, was one thoroughly to Knox's own heart. His colloquy with the queen became cordial and earnest; and he fell immediately to his congenial task, by writing to the earl a letter, setting forth the domestic duties which he had hitherto neglected, and was now called on to perform, with as much peremptory distinctness as it is possible to suppose any like injunction to have been given privily from the confessional. The letter is printed in his History. In the mean time, Knox having become interested in the task before him, the queen seized the favourable moment to get through, briefly and without cross-questioning, with the disagreeable business of their original meeting—the prosecution of the officiating Romanist ecclesiastics. "'And now,' said she, 'as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as ye required. I shall cause summon all offenders, and ye shall know that I shall minister justice.' 'I am assured then,' said he, 'that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm, which to your majesty is more profitable than all the Pope's power can be,' and thus they departed." So is the conclusion of the interview set forth

in Knox's History. His account of it reads like a true account of the part of the dialogue which it contains, and at the same time does not look as if it suppressed any important part. What afterwards passed through his mind about the whole affair, when he put it in writing, seems to be noted in the following words, with which, referring to the sayings of the day before, he begins the narrative of the second day's conference: "Whether it was the night's sleep, or a deep dissimulation locked in her breast, that made her to forget her former anger, wise men may doubt —but thereof she never moved word."[1]

It must be held as the consequence of her promise, that, on the 19th of May 1563, no fewer than forty-eight persons, some of them eminent Romish ecclesiastics, were indicted for celebrating mass and endeavouring to restore Popery in Paisley and Ayrshire. They were charged with collecting tumultuous assemblies—in one instance, of two hundred people. The law which they were accused of transgressing was that dubious proclamation by the queen, requiring that no one should innovate on the state of religion as she found it publicly and universally standing on her arrival in Scotland; and the accused were said to have transgressed this injunction by "ministering and abusing, irreverently and indecently, the sacraments of haly Kirk—namely, the sacraments of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus—otherwise and after ane other order than the public and general order of this realm was, the time of the queen's majesty's arrival foresaid." Auricular confession was another form of transgression taken at Paisley in the "kirk, toun, kirkyard, chambers, barns, middens, and killogies thereof."[2] The charge of officiating in "middens" or dunghills, and in killogies or kilns, which gives a ludicrous tinge to the proceedings, shows in harmony with the tenor of the correspondence of the period, that these recusants courted secrecy. Several of the accused were sentenced to be "put in ward" within the royal fortresses during the queen's pleasure. There was one man, by his station and history, prominent among these offenders--

[1] Knox, ii. 373.

[2] Pitcairn, i. 428,* 429.

so prominent, indeed, that the prosecution may in some measure be considered a trial of his strength. This was John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, the illegitimate brother of the head of the house of Hamilton. He had become hateful to the Protestants by the martyrdom of Walter Mill. At the same time there were reasons why neither the Romish party nor the queen's personal friends should then be strongly inclined to back him. Restless, fierce, and ambitious, if he had shown devotion to his Church, he had shown still more devotion to his own interest, and was believed to be working for a compromise between the two extreme parties, in which there would be enough of Protestantism to satisfy the lay Reformers, and enough of Popery to preserve for him his high dignities and emoluments; so that his deficiency in zeal may even have contributed to his sufferings. At the same time he was the leading spirit of the dubious policy of the Hamiltons, and had fought the battle of Arran the regent against the queen's mother. In Knox's History it is told with great glee how the bishop, hesitating to appear as a criminal in the Earl of Argyle's court, was at last "compelled to enter within the bar;" and how "a merry man, who now sleeps in the sod, Robert Norwell, instead of the bishop's cross, bare before him a steel hammer."[1]

But the most instructive consideration in connection with these prosecutions is that, while they were carried on in the queen's name, she was resolutely bent on the restoration of the old religion. It is unnecessary, in confirmation of this, to found solely on that steady unshrinking adherence to her own faith, which must ever stand forth as the noblest, if not the sole redeeming feature of her character. That while she was yet Queen of France she should reciprocate with the Court of Rome the courtesies appropriate to her sovereign rank in a country devoted to the Popedom, was but natural, and it was not to be expected that Scotland should be specifically excepted from them. So an embassy from the King and Queen of France and Scotland, sent on their accession on

[1] Knox, ii. 380.

a mission of duty and spiritual obedience to Pius IV., received in return his blessing, and the promise of his paternal good offices for both their realms.[1]

About half-way between the day of her husband's death and that of her return to Scotland, she had received the traditionary symbolical blessing of the Pope in the shape of the golden rose, accompanied by a benedictory epistle, with allusion to herself as a fair rose among thorns—a possible allusion to the rumours that may have reached the Court of Rome about affairs in Scotland.[2]

On her return to Scotland this intercourse seemed to come to an abrupt close, but the industry of recent investigators has revealed it as continued with subtle dexterity, and in condition for open diplomatic service when the reaction eagerly expected on the one side and dreaded on the other should restore the papal ascendancy. Fragments of correspondence show that, while nominally prosecuting Papists at home, she held close communication with the great leaders of the Romish party abroad, and even with the Pope himself. In January 1563, she wrote to Pope Pius IV., expressing her devotion to the Church, and her readiness to sacrifice for it her life. She mourns over the new opinions and damnable errors which she found prevalent on her return to her kingdom, and regrets that this will defeat a design she would otherwise fain have carried out—to send certain prelates to represent Scotland in the Council of Trent. She writes at the same time to her uncle the cardinal, going over the same topics more fully and earnestly, announcing her desire to restore the Catholic faith in her dominions, though at the peril of her life, and declaring that she will rather die than change her faith and give encouragement to heresy. The bearer of these dangerous communications was that Cardinal Granvelle who was conspicuous even

[1] Statuta Ecclesiæ Scot. Pref., 165.

[2] Quæ tanquam rosa pulcherrima inter spinas suavissimum fidei et bonorum operum tuorum, odorem longe lateque diffundis ibid. The Papal Rose is inventoried among the jewels brought by its owner from France, but nothing further is known about it.—Inventaires de la Royne Descosse, p. 17.

among the relentless Spaniards for his zeal in the forcible suppression of heresy.[1]

In the midsummer of 1562, there were rumours and suspicions about the arrival in Scotland of a shadowy figure, whose presence was all the more mysterious that he was seen by no one, unless he was identified by Randolph, who, standing beside Lethington saw so "strange a visage" that he supposed it must be the mysterious stranger's. The rumours said he was a Jesuit and a legate of the Pope—that he had landed at Dundee—that he passed on, secretly remaining in hiding in one place of refuge after another owned by friends of his cause. He was conveyed at last to the queen, and held a secret conference with her, almost interrupted by the Earl of Mar. The most distinct thing that Randolph can retail to his mistress about this visionary affair is the opinion of Lethington, that the stranger came to urge the queen to send a representative to the Council of Trent, but that his mission would be in vain.[2]

We have traces far more distinct of Queen Mary's continued devotion to her Church, and of her capacity of communicating, undetected at home, with its hierarchy abroad. The Council of Trent, when it reassembled in 1563, received from her a letter announcing her deep regret at her inability to send prelates of her realm to represent it in the Council. Not only did the troubles of the time render such a mission impossible, but any attempt in that direction would be dangerous; and this was all the greater a grief to her that she remained among the most devoted of the daughters of the Catholic Church. She referred the Council to her illustrious uncle the Car-

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[1] Labanoff, i. 175 *et seq.* The letters are translated copies, but there is no reason to doubt their genuineness. In the pages immediately following, repeated references will be found to the Concilia Scotiæ or Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, edited by Dr Joseph Robertson. Whoever desires to enter critically into the question how far the tenor of the correspondence here attributed to Queen Mary is supported by evidence, will find there all the information he can desire. But in truth Queen Mary's entire devotion to her Church is so steadily distinct through her whole history as to leave neither excuse nor temptation for resting it on narrow testimony.

[2] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 131, 147, 199.

dinal of Lorraine, who knew all about her affairs, and would be virtually her representative. The Council held a special congregation on this letter, and the minute of its purport attributes the troubles in Scotland to the Huguenots. The Cardinal of Lorraine addressed the assemblage, enlarging on his niece's zeal for the cause, and the difficulties and danger of her position, and expressing a hope that some one of the Scots prelates then refugees in France might attend the Council. It must be inferred that this part of the transactions of the great Council had been kept a dead secret from the governing party in Scotland.[1]

Ere the Council had broken up, Chisholm, the Bishop of Dunblane, was received at the Vatican, on a mission from the queen to explain the condition of Scotland. He named as still among the faithful the Earls of Lennox, Athole, Huntly, Montrose, Eglinton, Cassilis, Errol, and Caithness, with some others. To each of those on the bishop's list the Pope wrote a special letter of exhortation.[2] He sent to Queen Mary the acts of the Council, and she in return addressed to him a letter full of devotion and zeal, not in the formal Latin in which she addressed the Council, but in her own familiar French.[3] Two other incidents may be here anticipated in the order of time, that their significance may be interpreted along with all that the queen had to say and to do for Protestantism at the dictation of the ruling party. With great secrecy a papal dispensation was obtained for her marriage with Darnley, granted, as the Pope announced, on their assurance that they would both help to the utmost of their power the old religion. The Bishop of Dunblane again is found on a mission to Rome—called his third—imploring the Pope for aid to the queen in bringing her realm to order—a

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[1] Epistola Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, Franciæ Dotariæ, ad Sacrosanctam Synodum Tridentinam. Congregatio Generalis, Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini, habita pro litteris Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, Franciæ Dotariæ, ad idem Sacrosanctum concilium legendis X Maii MDLXIII.—Robertson, Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, 249.

[2] Ibid., Preface, 168, 169.

[3] Labanoff, vii. 6, where it is marked Autographe, Bibliothèque Barberini, 20th October 1564.

thing still not beyond hope. Pius V. wrote to her a benedictory letter, apologising, with more politeness than sincerity we must suppose, for his inability, through the infirmities of age, to cross the Alps and the sea for her relief. He sent the Bishop of Mondovi to represent him with an offering of twenty thousand crowns. The bishop reached Paris, whence he wrote to the queen for instructions as to the fulfilment of his mission. But this was in 1567, when, as we shall see, evil days had fallen on Mary. The nuncio did not reach Scotland, and appears to have taken the money intrusted to him back to Rome.[1]

In going back to the course of the narrative, with such testimony to her thoughts and intentions, we must henceforth view Knox and the queen as engaged in a contest, each for the extermination of the other. He also had his correspondents on the Continent, and he seems to have found some traces of her secret communications with France, Spain, and the Court of Rome. For all the skill with which she had represented herself as a simple unprejudiced person seeking knowledge and open to conviction, his sagacity early revealed to him that she was an assured unwavering champion of the old faith. So early as October 1561, he said, writing to Cecil, "The queen neither is, neither shall be, of our opinion; and in very deed her whole proceedings do declare that the cardinal's lessons are so deeply printed in her heart, that the substance and the quality are alike to perish together. I would be glad to be deceived, but I fear I shall not."[2]

But the state of the Continent at that time required that the queen should keep her policy profoundly hidden in her bosom. She had just witnessed, before she left Paris, the reaction against the Guises, and the formidable combination of the Huguenot princes. Catherine of Medici, not having that assured faith which belonged to her daughter-in-law, held herself in grim reserve, watching the contest, and determined not to commit herself until she saw which side should develop the elements of decided

[1] Statuta, &c., Preface, 168-171. [2] Quoted, M'Crie, 183.

superiority. She made herself courteous to the Huguenot preachers, and held colloquies with them like those of Queen Mary and Knox. Then followed the celebrated edict of January 1562, and the establishment of the Huguenots in many of the strongest towns in France, where idolatry was forthwith suppressed as in Scotland, the religious recluses driven out of their monasteries, and the churches defaced of their sculpture and decorations. It was, no doubt, with secret joy and pride that Mary watched how, step by step, her illustrious uncle consolidated the fragments of the Catholic party, and, after gaining the victory of Dreux, was wrenching from the Huguenots their chief stronghold—Orleans; but all hopes thus excited were doomed to sudden and bitter disappointment, by the news that he had been assassinated by a Huguenot fanatic. He fell on the 18th of August 1563. That was undoubtedly no time for his niece to try the strength of the Catholic cause in Scotland. But in fact it continued from that epoch rapidly to advance in France, with the Guises still at its head. And as it achieved predominance, so we shall find, at humble distance, its champion in Scotland warily stirring herself from the prostrate condition she had found it necessary to accept on her first coming, and arming herself for a conflict which, to all human appearance, was likely seriously to endanger, if not to overwhelm, the cause of the Reformation in Scotland, if not in England too. The concurrence was noticed by Knox in his own peculiar fashion, in the passage already cited, in which he represented the queen as inaugurating the rise of persecution in France by excessive indulgence in the offensive exercise of dancing.

Among the elements of power which she brought into this contest, what she possessed in her own person and personal qualities must not be overlooked. Scarce ever a sovereign entered upon rule with so many attributes of popularity. The blood of an ancient and beloved line of monarchs ran in her veins. She was the descendant of the heroic Bruce, the liberator of the land. With this illustrious blood she united that of the chivalrous house of Lorraine, with whose deeds Europe was ringing. She

herself, by her marvellous beauty, her accomplishments, and her wit, had even widened the renown of her country, known as it was so well over Christendom. She dazzled the commonalty with new court glories to which sombre Scotland was unaccustomed ; and her regal pageants were no mere chaotic displays of profuse barbaric splendour, but were brought under the rule of a thoroughly refined taste. The splendours of her Court were not invidious to the people, since they came not from the national exchequer, but were decorated by the jewellery and supplied from the dowry of a queen-dowager of France. The old warlike and chivalrous feeling of the people found more to stir it in this delicate woman than in many a hero. She had often shown her beautiful face under the helmet, mounted on her charger at the head of her troops. In more peaceful days, the peasantry of the borders and the Highlands were familiar with the airy form sweeping past on a milk-white steed, at the stag-hunt or the hawking, followed by all the chivalry of her Court. Such scenes were not confined to the exclusive precincts of parks or royal forests ; they were not secluded from a suspected population by a jealous retinue of guards. They were seen by her people at large ; and there were few corners of the land so remote but some were there who could tell of having seen them. Hence the queen naturally, from year to year, acquired a strength in her own popularity, which must have weighed formidably against her opponents, and might have served her in good stead had it not been her fate to do things against which no popularity could stand.

There was in the mean time such reaction as chafed the impetuous spirit of Knox, and drew forth he following expressive notice in his History : " While that the Papists were so confounded that none within the realm durst more avow the hearing or saying of mass than the thieves of Liddesdale durst avow their stealth in presence of an upright judge, there were Protestants found there ashamed not, at tables and other places, to ask, ' Why may not the queen have her own mass and the form of her religion ? What can that hurt us or our religion ? ' And from these

two—why? and what?—at length sprang out this affirmative, 'The queen's mass and her priests will we maintain; this hand and this rapier shall fight in their defence,' &c." [1]

If Knox and his friends had found reason for genuine satisfaction in the prosecution of Hamilton and the western Papists, it did not last many days. A Parliament was called, from which they expected much and got nothing. It met on the 4th of June 1563. Now was the occasion for ratifying with the royal presence the Reformation, which had been passed in a mere Convention, and for devoting to its proper spiritual purposes the Church property which had been seized by the Church's lay friends; but both these objects were effectively evaded. The Acts passed by the Convention of 1560 remained unconfirmed, and care seemed to be taken to avoid any reference to the proceedings on that great occasion, as if they involved questions tacitly set aside by both parties for subsequent adjustment. The Estates commenced business by passing an "Act of Oblivion," to protect from prosecution all concerned in the troubles immediately preceding the queen's arrival. The period of time covered by its protecting clauses was from 6th March 1558 to 1st September 1561. The chief object of this Act was to secure from dispute the transactions about Church lands during that period—transactions which the Protestant clergy looked on as a robbery of their Church, but which many of their lay supporters had reasons for keeping quiet, even when adherents of the old Church were the chief gainers by them.

For any other purpose than this, the Parliament need not have assembled, since all its other business consisted of petty regulations about cruives and yairs, the exportation of bullion, the manufacture of salt—unless it may be considered an exception to the general triviality of the proceedings that a statute was passed discharging all persons, of whatsomever estate, degree, or condition, to use any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, or necromancy, under the pain of death, "as well to be execute against the

[1] Knox, ii. 266.

user, abuser, as the seeker of the response or consultation." This is the first announcement on the statute-book, of a persecution for which Scotland became rather notorious. It was much desired by Knox, to whom the progress of witchcraft and the kindred arts had been giving alarm ; but it was not sufficient to propitiate him in the absence of the more solid results which a Parliament should have brought forth. The proceedings of this Parliament filled up the cup of Knox's gathering wrath against the Protestant lords, on their lukewarmness in the great cause, and over-anxiety about their worldly interests. He signified his displeasure on the occasion by solemnly breaking with Murray. It is very significantly suggested in Knox's History that Murray desired to see the estates and honours which he had obtained through the ruin of the Gordons effectively secured ; and that these things and other convenient arrangements for supporters being accomplished, he left the rest to the course of events, not choosing to take the strong hand with the queen farther than the assembled Estates might call for it. The feud is thus told in Knox's History : " The matter fell so hot betwixt the Earl of Murray and some others of the Court and John Knox, that familiarly after that time they spake not together more than a year and a half; for the said John, by his letter, gave a discharge to the said earl of all further intromission or care with his affairs."[1]

A few days afterwards, Knox preached a renowned discourse. It was addressed to the Protestant lords, most of whom were present, and was sharpened with all his sternest eloquence, as a last appeal of duty to their obdurate hearts. He described, with picturesque pathos, how he and they had worked together in the evil days of temptation and danger. " In your most extreme dangers I have been with you. St Johnston, Cupar Moor, and the Craigs of Edinburgh are yet in my heart ; yea, that dark and dolorous night, wherein all ye, my lords, with shame and fear left, this time is yet in my mind, and God forbid that ever I should forget."[2] And where had they

[1] Knox, ii. 382. [2] Ibid., 384.

cast the great truth for which all this temptation and danger and scandal had been braved, now that the perfecting of it was in their own hands? "Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray His cause, when ye have it in your own hands to establish it as ye please? The queen, say ye, will not agree with us. Ask ye of her that which by God's Word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her in the devil." Before concluding, he sounded an admonitory blast of the trumpet on a matter then under busy discussion, although it had not yet pointed to an individual conclusion—the queen's marriage. "And now, my lords, to put end to all I hear of the queen's marriage. Dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best game; but this, my lords, will I say, Note the day, and bear witness after, whensoever the nobility of Scotland, professing the Lord Jesus, consents that an infidel—and all Papists are infidels—shall be head to your sovereign, ye do so far as in ye lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm; ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourself, and perchance ye shall do small comfort to your sovereign."[1]

When Mary heard of this she resolved to have another controversy with her assailant, trusting, as on previous occasions, to her own unaided wit. She had no one present but the pacific Erskine of Dun. The attempt brought her little satisfaction. When asked why he went out of his way as a clergyman to meddle with the affairs of her marriage, Knox explained that it was his duty to admonish, and, where practicable, premonish his congregation of their sins; and if he saw them prepared to stand by inactive, and permit her to take to herself an idolatrous husband, he was constrained to admonish them on their sinfulness and responsibility. According to his own account, he was on this occasion encountered by passionate bursts of weeping. His History states that "the said John stood still, without any alteration of

[1] Knox, ii. 385, 386.

countenance for a long season," until it occurred to him to put in a word of comfort, founded on his domestic experience. Weeping was far from pleasant to him, and he could scarce stand that of his own boys when under paternal flagellation. But on the present occasion, that he should be assailed by tears, was more unreasonable, the queen having no just cause for offence, since he had but spoken the truth, as his vocation craved of him. He was thrust for a time into an anteroom among the queen's ladies, a body for whom he had often expressed intense disgust, railing at their "stinkin' pride," and the "targetting of their tails and the rest of their vanity," all calculated to "provoke God's vengeance not only against those foolish women, but against the whole realm." The grim preacher was probably no more welcome to them than they to him; but he resolved to improve the occasion, and to this accident we owe a sentence of quaint and solemn moralising, which may fairly match with Hamlet's over Yorick's skull: "O fair ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end that we might pass to heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon that knave Death, that will come whether we will or not! And when he has laid on us his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh were it never so fair and so tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targetting, pearl, nor precious stones."[1] This, according to his History, was spoken by him "merrily," though it is not said to have been received in the like spirit. After a short abiding, he was desired to depart, and the Court ladies and he were relieved of each other's presence.

The conflict between the contending powers was soon afterwards brought to closer issue by an occurrence which did not leave the penal law entirely in the hands of the Protestants, but emboldened the Romanists also to seek its protection. In the summer of 1563, the queen made a progress in the western shires, hunting and hawk-

[1] Knox, ii. 389.

ing as far northward as Argyle. She not only took her idolatry with her, and set it up in sundry places, according to Knox's sure information, but the followers left behind attended mass in the Chapel of Holyrood. One Sunday evening they appear to have been joined by an unusual number of the citizens, "which understanding, divers of the brethren, being sore offended, consulted how to redress that enormity; and so were appointed certain of the most zealous and most upright in religion to wait upon the abbey, that they might note such persons as resorted to the mass."[1] Had the performance merely been deemed a public scandal, this deputation would have been liable to the reproach of increasing the publicity and the scandal. But the act was looked upon as a crime which it is the citizen's duty to detect and denounce.

Several persons were thus indicted, according to the established form, for making innovations and alterations on religion contrary to the queen's proclamation, but it does not appear that they were punished.[2] They appear all to have been citizens of Edinburgh, and not the French followers, whom Knox terms *dontibours*, a term of equivocal origin. The noting and identification of the massmongers, however, being exciting work for the zealous and upright men who undertook it, there appears to have been violence. In Knox's History it is said, "Perceiving a great number to enter into the chapel, some of the brethren also burst in; whereat the priest and the French dames being affrayed, made the shout to be sent to the town."[3] Whatever may have been the extent of the violence committed, two of the party—Andrew Armstrong and George Boyd, burgesses—were indicted for "carrying pistols within the burgh, convention of the lieges at the palace, and invasion of the queen's servants."[4] This gave high offence to the Protestant clergy; and Knox, who said he had been intrusted with authority to convene the champions of the cause in case of danger or emergency, considered that the hour had come for which this

[1] Knox, ii. 393.
[2] Pitcairn, i. 435*.
[3] Knox, ii. 393.
[4] Pitcairn, i. 434*.

precaution was taken, and issued a circular warning to the faithful, calling on them to assemble in Edinburgh on the 24th of October, the day fixed for the trial of Armstrong and Boyd.

Such pains seem to have been taken to preserve secrecy in this summons, although very widely circulated, that Knox is loud in his denunciations of the treachery by which it was made known to the queen's advisers. These considered that at last they had Knox at their mercy, with a charge of treason hanging over him for convocation of the lieges. Some efforts of Murray and the Master of Maxwell to get him to accept of leniency, founded on a partial admission of error, were received with haughty scorn, and he was cited to appear before the queen in Council. The assemblage does not appear to have been limited to the Secret Council, nor was it a meeting in full of the Estates, but something like a committee of the Government officers and chief members of Parliament. The queen attended, and took a leading part in the business. Her approach is described in her opponent's History as that of a haughty and prematurely-exulting foe. "Her pomp lacked one principal point—to wit, womanly gravity; for when she saw John Knox standing at the other end of the table bareheaded, she first smiled, and after gave ane gawf lauchter; whereat, when her *placeboes* gave their *plaudite*, affirming with like countenance, 'This is ane good beginning,' she said; 'but wit ye whereat I laugh? Yon man gart me greet, and grat never tear himself. I will see if I can gar him greet.'"[1] There was a long discussion, Knox stern and unbending as usual. The sum of his defence—or rather justification, for he scorned to demean himself as one pleading to a charge—was that convocation of the lieges for evil purposes was doubtless a crime; but his was for a good purpose, a holy purpose—he was "doing the duty of God's messenger" in writing this letter. The assemblage declined to inculpate him. Their motives on the occasion are not very clear, for there seems to have been

[1] Knox, ii. 404.

a strong feeling, even among the zealous lay Reformers, that it would be dangerous to let such an act pass. It is open to the reader to believe with the exulting accused that "there was not ane that plainly durst condemn the poor man that was accused, this same God ruling their tongue that formerly ruled the tongue of Balaam when gladly he would have cursed God's people."[1] It may also have had its influence on the assemblage that, "the bruit rising in the town that John Knox was sent for by the queen, the brethren of the Kirk followed in such number that the inner close was full, and all the stairs, even to the chamber door where the queen and Council sat."[2] On being told that he might depart homewards, he turned to the queen and prayed that God would purge her heart from Popery, and preserve her from the counsel of flatterers.[3]

A General Assembly was held immediately afterwards, and there Knox sought, and of course immediately received, a full justification of his conduct. So the affair ended. There are no traces of ultimate proceedings against the rioters. The lay friends of the Reformation got no thanks for any leniency shown on this occasion; on the contrary, from that time the wrath of the preachers became ever louder against them as participators in the idolatry of her they served. They anticipated the Divine vengeance on the land for these sins, and soon found it executed. "God from heaven, and upon the face of the earth, gave declaration that He was offended at the iniquity that was committed even within this realm; for upon the 20th day of January there fell wet in great abundance, which in the falling freezed so vehemently that the earth was but ane sheet of ice. The fowls both great and small freezed, and might not flee; many died, and some were taken and laid beside the fire that their feathers might resolve. And in that same month the sea stood still, as was clearly observed, and neither ebbed nor flowed the space of twenty-four hours. In the month of February, the 15th and 18th days thereof, was seen in the

[1] Knox, ii. 411. [2] Ibid., 403. [3] Ibid., 411.

firmament battles arrayed, spears, and other weapons, and as it had been the joining of two armies."[1]

The gloom that had been gathering over the prospects of the zealous Reformers now deepened apace. The clergy besought the mitigation of God's wrath for the sins of the land in their prayers, which, as they freely exposed the great cause of all the evils, became thus a powerful weapon of assault. Knox adopted a form of prayer for the occasion, which he freely repeated when questioned for the last time about his conduct. It was in these terms :—

"O Lord, if Thy pleasure be, purge the heart of the queen's majesty from the venom of idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thraldom of Satan, in the whilk she has been brought up and yet remains, for the lack of true doctrine ; and let her see, by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, that there is no mean to please Thee but by Jesus Christ Thy only Son, and that Jesus Christ cannot be found but in Thy Holy Word, nor yet received but as it prescribes, which is to renounce our own wits and preconceived opinion, and worship Thee as Thou demandest ; that in so doing she may avoid that eternal damnation which abides all obstinate and impenitent unto the end ; and that this poor realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably follows idolatry maintained against Thy manifest Word and the open light thereof."[2]

This prayer came under question in the following shape. A General Assembly was held in the summer of 1564, at which the lay lords expected their clerical friends to take violent measures. At the first sitting, these lay lords, called The Courtiers, were not present, and it was proposed that measures should be taken with them to compel them to do their duty as humble members of the national Church. The courtiers were accordingly summoned to attend, and they appeared next day ; but instead of mixing with the assembled clergy and their brother elders at once, it appears that they passed into an inner council-room to hold a preliminary conference. Thence they sent a message requesting the superintendents "and some

[1] Knox, ii. 417. [2] Ibid., 428.

of the learned ministers" to confer with them. The Assembly answered that they could not spare their principal members, and that it better became the courtiers to take their part in the general deliberations than to draw away those whose services were the most valuable to the Assembly. After an angry discussion, it was at last agreed that a preliminary conference might be held between the lay and clerical leaders, on the understanding that they should conclude nothing, but that all should be redebated in open assembly. Among the courtiers there were Hamilton, Argyle, Murray, Morton, Glencairn, Marischal, Rothes, the Laird of Pittarrow, and chief of all, as him on whom the labour of the controversy fell, Secretary Lethington. On the clerical side were Erskine of Dun, Spottiswood, Winram, and Willock, who, according to an arrangement for providing a governing body in the new Church, were Superintendents of districts. They were assisted by Row, Craig, and Hay.

Knox, who for some unexplained reason seems to have been reluctant to appear, was forced into the discussion on the infallible plea that his own conduct was to be questioned, and his absence would be cowardice. Once there, the whole conduct of the conflict naturally fell into his hands. He was opposed by the ready-debating talent and subtle wit of the secretary. But in the ranks of the laymen there was an assailable point, which rendered victory to the others secure from the beginning. A rumour had been ominously whispered about among the clergy, and had gained such palpable force that some of them had in fear and grief sought to relieve their hearts concerning it in their public prayers. It was to the effect that some of their lay friends had been heard to doubt if the queen's mass really were the idolatry which must be punished with death. It was the great aim of Knox's rhetoric and his taunts to drive his opponents to the avowal of this doubt; but whatever they inwardly thought, none of them had courage for the avowal. Thus the clergy had all the advantage possessed by men with one simple clear conclusion which they delighted in avowing, over those who wished to avoid avowals, and to

carry the controversy into subsidiary channels. The clergy were charged with dwelling too strongly on the queen's impenitence. Why should they propagate the impression that she was obdurate in her sins? why not make allowance for penitence coming in due time? But this argument tottered under its own inherent weakness. The supposition of her repentance was a farce—nothing was farther from her thoughts; and all of them knew by that time, if they did not before, that she was as thorough a bigot to her own creed as the most zealous of themselves was to his.

Then supposing her to be sinful and impenitent, yet she was a queen, and could not be punished or controlled in her personal actions; and for subjects to rail at them, whether in pulpits or elsewhere, was disrespect to the Lord's anointed, if not worse. Lethington had the imprudence to throw out a challenge that Scripture precedents could not be found for such arraignments of the conduct of princes. This was a call to Knox to draw on the resources of his great arsenal of Bible-learning. He had so abundant a choice, that with characteristic pride he cared not to cite precedents except from the doings of the greater prophets. There were Elisha and King Jehoram; Jeremiah, who cried aloud to the kings Zedekiah and Jehoiakim; and happiest instance of all, "Ahab was ane king, and Jezebel was ane queen, and yet what the prophet Elijah said to the one and to the other, I suppose ye be not ignorant."[1] "The idolater shall die the death." "God's laws pronounce death to idolaters without exception of any person." Such was the terrible burden of the preacher's argument to the conclusion; and the courtiers had nothing to answer it with. Craig, who had led a strange wandering life, appealed to a precedent of later times, when Protestantism had for a short time dominion in Bologna, and it was resolved by the eminent doctors there that idolatrous rulers must be deposed by subjects sound in the faith.

The discussion was taking a dangerously practical direc-

[1] Knox, ii. 432.

tion, when Macgill, the clerk-register, diverted it by reminding the meeting of the previous proposal to consult Calvin and the Continental heads of the Protestant faith how far obedience was due to infidel princes. Lethington admitted that he had undertaken that duty, but that when it came to be done he shrank from deliberately inquiring of foreigners whether it was his duty to depose his sovereign. Knox was pressed to write such a letter to Calvin, but declined. It is odd enough that he never alludes to his having already written one.[1] The conference ended without any practical conclusion. No vote was taken in the General Assembly; and the reason why there was none appears to be because the committee of leaders, which, as we have seen, the Assembly were averse to sanction, once finding themselves set apart, and divided into two parties eager for controversy, debated so long that the Assembly got tired, and dispersed. The lay Protestants—the Lords of the Congregation—with Murray at their head, had by this time their own deep anxieties to deal with. They could not, on the one hand, bring the clergy to what they thought reason; on the other, they saw more clearly, day by day, that there was no room for a temperate party; that Knox and Craig were right in holding the queen to be obdurate and impenitent in her idolatry, and that in the great conflict hers was the party the more likely of the two to be successful. The point on which the question of Protestant or Roman Catholic appears at that time to turn was the queen's marriage; and before narrating that event, with its wondrous consequents, it may be proper to glance at some of its precedents.

[1] Knox, ii. 460.

CHAPTER XLIII.

QUEEN MARY.

(*Continued.*)

THE QUEEN AND HER ADMIRERS—MYSTERIOUS STORY OF THE PROJECT OF ARRAN AND BOTHWELL—BOTHWELL INDICTED FOR IT—HISTORY OF CHATELAR—HIS ADVENTURES—HIS FATE—POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE—THE PROJECTS OF THE HOUSE OF GUISE—QUEEN MARY'S OWN VIEWS—PROJECT FOR UNION WITH THE HEIR OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY—POLITICAL PROSPECTS OF SUCH A UNION — MARY'S FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE ABOUT IT — HER SCHEMES TRAVERSED BY CATHERINE OF MEDICI—OTHER PROJECTS—QUEEN ELIZABETH—HER ESCAPADES ABOUT LEICESTER—PROPOSED MEETING OF MARY AND ELIZABETH—MARY MEETS HENRY STEWART, LORD DARNLEY—MARY'S SECRET EMISSARIES—DAVID RIZZIO—REACTION IN FAVOUR OF THE ROMANIST PARTY—GLOOM AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE REFORMERS—PROTESTANT RIOT SUPPRESSED—QUESTION OF CONSULTING THE ESTATES ABOUT THE MARRIAGE—MARRIAGE OF MARY AND DARNLEY.

EVER since the death of her husband, the admirers of the young queen had been very troublesome. Besides the members of reigning houses who were offered or spoken of after the usual fashion of projected royal alliances, her steps were infested by audacious and demonstrative adorers, who had no claims to such a destiny. Whether the passive influence of her wonderful wit and beauty rendered this phenomenon inevitable, or it might be in any measure promoted by some little touches of seductive fascination in her manner, is a question which students of her history will in general decide for themselves. The most eminent among these miscellaneous admirers, and the one who came nearest to the rank which might have justified the expectation of her hand,

was D'Amville, the second son of the Constable Montmorency, who afterwards succeeded to the offices and honours of his family—the most illustrious among the unregal nobility of France. He was one of those who accompanied the queen to Scotland. He had a wife; but to such homage as he was entitled to tender, that was no hindrance.

Arran, the heir of the house of Hamilton, was numbered among the queen's suitors. The position of that family at the juncture of Mary's return was very peculiar, and so was their conduct. The head of the house was next heir to the crown, and held this position not merely by genealogical tenure, but by the repeated acknowledgments of Parliament, which had made provision for his claims becoming effectual if the succession opened. It was not in human nature that the man so placed should enter, with the indifference of an ordinary subject, into questions about the most suitable alliance for his sovereign, and the desirableness of a direct heir appearing to the house of Stewart. Whether from temper or policy, he evaded the usual demands of homage paid by the nobility. His absence from Court was of course noticed, and was in fact rather the assumption of a diplomatic position than an ordinary discourtesy. Something of menace, too, appeared in his movements, and especially in his jealously fortifying and keeping well garrisoned the fortress of Dumbarton. The annalists of the day mention a sudden alarm arising in Holyrood House one summer night in the year 1561, when the Lord James was absent suppressing the borderers, and the palace was peculiarly unprotected. This incident is isolated—unconnected with any train of events preceding or following it. It is briefly recorded in the quaint manner of Knox's History, in a spirit of latent sarcasm: "The queen upon a night took a fray in her bed, as if horsemen had been in the close, and the palace had been enclosed about. Whether it proceeded of her own womanly fantasy, or if men put her in fear for displeasure of the Earl of Arran, and for other purposes, as for the erecting of the guard, we know not. But the fear was so great that the town was called to the watch."

The shape into which the cause of this panic was put, was a design by young Arran to seize the queen and carry her into the district where the house of Hamilton was supreme. If the queen had, as Knox and others thought, no ground for her apprehensions, yet such an enterprise was not inconsistent with the spirit of the times, and it is impossible to disconnect it with certain subsequent transactions in which the name of so very practical a person as the Earl of Bothwell is mixed up. The alarm in Holyrood must have occurred in November 1561, the date of Murray's absence on the border; the further incidents now to be noticed belong to the spring of the following year. Knox was intimately concerned in them, and they are narrated with much distinctness in his History. The affair begins by Bothwell desiring a private interview with Knox, which was gladly conceded; and they met in the house of James Barron, a worshipful burgess of Edinburgh. The scene resolved itself into a sort of Protestant confessional. The earl bewailed his sinful life, and entered into particulars of his offences, whereof he heartily repented. But there remained behind a practical object in which he desired the Reformer's intervention—it pressed hard on him that he was at enmity with the Earl of Arran, and he solicited Knox's good offices for their reconciliation. Knox undertook the task with thorough goodwill; in some way or other it is evident that the heart of the austere preacher had been gained. He said his grandfather, father, and father-in-law had served under the banner of the Hepburns—this by the way, as connecting them together by the obligation of their "Scottish kindness;" but he had another and a more solemn function as the public messenger of glad tidings, and so he bestowed on the penitent a suitable admonition to prove the sincerity of his penitence by his reformation.

Bothwell stuck to the practical point—of a reconciliation with Arran. Knox busied himself in the matter, and after overcoming some practical difficulties, he had the satisfaction to see them meet and embrace, the Earl of Arran saying to his new friend, "If the hearts be upright,

few ceremonies may serve and content me." Knox, who seems to have been mightily pleased with his handiwork, left them with the benediction following: "Now, my lords, God hath brought you together by the labours of simple men, in respect of those who would have travailed therein. I know my labours are already taken in an evil part, but because I have the testimony of a good conscience before my God, that whatsoever I have done, I have done it in His fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of none, and for the tranquillity of this realm." The good work seemed to be perfected, when next day Bothwell and "some of his honest friends came to the sermon with the earl foresaid, whereat many rejoiced."

But in a few days the scene was changed. Arran came repeatedly to Knox, and poured into his ears a tale how Bothwell had offered to help him to carry off the queen, and put her in his hands in Dumbarton Castle, proposing at the same time the slaughter of Murray, Lethington, and the others that "misguide her." These revelations seem to have gone on for some time, when Knox at last found that his informant was raving. "He devised of wondrous signs that he saw in the heaven; he alleged that he was bewitched; he would have been in the queen's bed, and affirmed that he was her husband; and finally, he behaved in all things so foolishly that his frenzy could not be hid."[1]

He was subjected to the process by which in Scotland insane persons are deprived of the management of their property.[2] His madness cannot be doubted, whether or not it was rightly attributed to his despairing love for the queen. However it arose, his accusations against Bothwell, to which he resolutely adhered, were not only gravely considered and examined at the time, but were three years afterwards, when Bothwell returned from France, solemnly resuscitated in the form of a criminal indictment or summons of treason. In this document it is specifically set forth that Bothwell proposed a plan for seizing the queen when she was hunting in the fields, or in one of

[1] Knox, ii. 322-329. [2] Mor. Dict. Dec., 6275.

her rural merrymakings, and conveying her with a sufficient force to Dumbarton Castle. There she was to be at the disposal of Arran; and it was part of the charge that by this Bothwell seduced him to join in the enterprise. As Bothwell did not appear to answer to the charge, he was outlawed, and the affair was forgotten amid the more stirring historical incidents in which he was to figure.[1] As the conclusion of this episode, it is proper to note that in the end of April 1562, a month after the date attributed to Bothwell's conversation with Arran, the Castle of Dumbarton was yielded up to Captain Anstruther, to be held for the queen.[2] In Knox's History the extraction of this fortress from the hands of the Hamiltons is spoken of as a breach of faith, on the ground that the custody of it had been granted to them "till that lawful succession should be seen of the queen's body."[3] Thus the fortress was understood to stand as a material guarantee for the protection of the house of Hamilton's right of succession to the throne.

It has been already recorded how the unfortunate Sir John Gordon, the son of the rebel Earl of Huntly, conducted himself as a lover of the queen. But the most troublesome and preposterous of all her train of admirers was a Frenchman named Chatelar or Chastelard, who also fell a victim to his follies. Little is known of him, except from the pages of Brantome; but his mere appearance there, accompanied by expressions of eulogy and warm attachment, is sufficient to mark him as a man of distinction. The biographer says he was a native of Dauphiné, and a grand-nephew by his mother of the illustrious Bayard, whom he resembled in person. According to the same authority, he owned in a high degree not only all the warlike and polite accomplishments of a high-bred gallant of the day, but possessed original literary genius, and could accompany his lute by his own poetry—"usant d'une poésie fort douce et gentile en cavalier." He was a follower of the Constable Montmorency, with whom he joined the body of gentlemen who escorted the queen

[1] Pitcairn, i. 462*. [2] Diurnal of Occurrents. [3] Knox, ii. 330.

from France. A *gentil mot* of his on that occasion has been recorded—that when a fog sprang up, and the necessity of lights was spoken of, he said the bright eyes of their mistress were sufficient to light the fleet past all dangers.

He had certainly been admitted on terms of some familiarity with the queen. Brantome says her love of letters led her to admire the young man's poems, of which she was often naturally the theme, and that she answered him in verses which raised within him the wildest aspirations. It is difficult to mark the limits within which at that period a royal personage at any of the French or Italian Courts might legitimately flatter and encourage a person of good birth, endowed with the literary accomplishments of the troubadour. The homage paid to Ronsard, by beauties of princely rank, was more like adoration than patronage. But Knox certainly shows ignorance of the fitting usages of a court at that time, when he says, "The queen would lie on Chatelar's shoulder, and sometimes privily she would steal a kiss of his neck; and all this was honest enough, for it was the gentle entreatment of a stranger. But the familiarity was so great, that on a night he privily did convey himself under the queen's bed."[1] That he committed this folly, whatever his encouragement may have been, is beyond doubt, though Randolph states that by his own account his hiding-place was a part of the establishment still less adapted for romance or love-making.[2] The occurrence was in Holyrood. For this first offence, though flagrant enough, he was spared and warned. Next day, however, as Mary spent the night at Burntisland, on her way to St Andrews, he burst into her private apartment, either to plead a palliation for his conduct or to plead his suit. It is said in Knox's History that Mary desired him to be forthwith put to death, but that Murray, who was present, maintained it to be due to the fair course of justice, and more conducive to her own good repute, that he should be brought to trial, and the same is told at the time by Randolph writing to Ce-

[1] Knox, ii. 368.

[2] Raumer, 22.

cil.[1] He was tried at St Andrews, condemned, and executed. The records of the Court of Justiciary for that period having been lost, we are deprived of any light which they might have cast on this strange story. Whoever desires to read how he died, like a true knight-errant, turning to the direction of his bright particular star, though it was obscured from his view, and unheard addressing her as the most lovely and cruel of her sex, may turn to the lively pages of Brantome. Chatelar's adventures fed many preposterous rumours, and the King of Spain was told that he had been hired in France to do as he did, for the purpose of ruining the queen's matrimonial prospects.[2]

Chatelar had been sent to France with the other attendants of the queen soon after her arrival, and had found his way back to the centre of attraction. One of the few wise things done by Mary and her advisers was the speedy restoration to their own country of this foreign train, whose presence in Scotland, however discreetly they might have conducted themselves, would have fostered a special growth of jealousies and animosities, in addition to the already luxuriant crop. What the rest would have incurred we learn in the brief history of one of them who remained behind the others—D'Elbœuf, the queen's uncle. He was charged with having joined some dissipated Scotsmen in a nocturnal riot, in which they forced an entrance to the house of a citizen, seeking access to a damsel

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[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 15th Feb. 1563.—Randolph, exaggerating as was his wont, makes the offence of the besotted youth amount to violence almost successful; and he moralises on the incident in this fashion: "Thus your honour heareth the beginning of a lamentable story, whereof much infamy will arise; as I fear, how well soever the wound be healed, the scar will for ever remain. Thus your honour seeth what mischief cometh of over-great familiarity that any such personage showeth unto so unworthy a creature and abject a varlet as ever her grace used with him." Randolph admits, with somewhat of a grumble, that the queen never spoke to him about this affair, and concludes his news by telling that the one who takes it most to heart is Murray, because of the evil rumours it may occasion.—Ibid., 167.

[2] Teulet, iii. 1.

living there. It is not stated that they committed violence on her, or even got access to her; and her own conduct was so far from being irreproachable, that the affair arose out of a dispute as to the person to whom she had for the time being sold her blandishments, and the object of the riot was to put one of the claimants in possession. The criminal records of the day convey a very false impression of the social condition of the country, if far heavier offences of the same character were not of daily occurrence. Yet the participation of D'Elbœuf raised this paltry riot to a place in history. In Knox's Book it is said that "the horror of this fact, and the rarity of it, highly commoved all godly hearts."[1] A sort of General Assembly was convened on the occasion, who addressed the queen in a long remonstrance about the impiety, "so heinous and so horrible that, as it was a fact most vile and rare to be heard of within this realm, principally within the bounds of this city, so should we think ourselves guilty of the same if negligently, or yet for worldly fear, we pass it over in silence." They predicted that its going unpunished might cause God's sore displeasure to fall on her and her whole realm.[2] The queen resisted the prosecution of the offenders, but promised measures for better order in time coming.

It must be admitted, however, that so far as the clergy were concerned, they do not seem to have applied to the Frenchman a more rigid rule of virtue than that which they followed themselves and endeavoured to enforce on the community generally. They were under the impulse of that great reaction against the profligacy of the age—the reaction which, driven out of France, where it had its origin, swept England under the name of Puritanism, and established a permanent influence over opinion in Scotland. Calvin had to take his notions of the absolute rule of saintship away from France, where the Huguenots were in a minority, to the small state of Geneva; and Knox sought to establish in Scotland the same iron rule which

[1] Knox, ii. 315.
[2] Knox, ii. 316. Book of the Universal Kirk, 29th May 1561.

his master was able with difficulty to hold over that small and peculiar state. The rigidness of the rule by which he and his brethren of the clergy had resolved to walk is better exemplified by one exceptional case of backsliding than by their professions of godliness. One of the new clergymen—Paul Methven, minister of Jedburgh—was accused of connubial infidelity. Instead of any effort to conceal this reproach to their body, they proclaimed it aloud as an awful and inscrutable judgment, and hunted the accused man until, whether guilty or not, he fled from his pursuers. He had a claim that would have served him well in any Church disposed to hide the frailties of its zealous champions, for he had the glory of martyrdom. We find him outlawed in 1559 for "usurping the authority and ministry of the Church," and addressing large assemblies in Dundee and Montrose.[1] The excitement aroused in a considerable body of men by the revelation among them of this one black sheep, points to the conclusion that such sins were rare in the community to which Methven belonged. Had there been other instances of flagrant offence, these too would have been made known; for it was a peculiarity of the Presbyterian bodies to blazon the infirmities of their own members as judgments and warnings, while those of the opposite religion were dealt with by ecclesiastical superiors, and shrouded in what they deemed decorous privacy.

While thus perplexed by immoralities without and within, the new Church had to look to the more serious question of its own safety, and the preservation of the Reformed faith. The question, which party should be supreme in Scotland, seemed to depend so much upon the queen's marriage, that both preserved a sort of armed neutrality until that event should take place, and declare for the one or the other. The anxiety on the point tra-

[1] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, I. 407. Randolph relating the scandal to Cecil, as a morsel of important news, calls him "a preacher brought up under Mr Coverdale"—the translator of the Bible, we must suppose; and that "he has escaped into England, or was drowned in crossing the water thitherwards."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 22d January 1562.

velled indeed far beyond the bounds of Scotland: for if Mary, with her claims on the crown of England, were married to some great Catholic potentate, no one could calculate what strength such an event might bring to the cause of Rome; while, on the other hand, a Protestant king in Edinburgh would secure Scotland, at all events, to the cause of the Reformation. Her ambitious relations the Guises were fully alive to the important influence which the result must have on their own designs and prospects. It is only in the events of later times that we can appreciate the scope and tendency of the projects of that illustrious race, and see how near they were to the accomplishment of a great revolution. They appeared in all their lustre at a time when the French had few great men, and were becoming discontented with the position they found themselves holding among European powers. What the family of Bonaparte since achieved, this ambitious house were on the point of achieving in the sixteenth century. If we look into the history of each of the several great men of the house, we shall find them all strengthening their position by a marvellously dexterous use of every available instrument, and uniting to propagate an impression throughout the world that some wonderful destiny was in store for them. They gave themselves out as the true descendants of Charlemagne, through that Lothaire, the founder of Lotharingia or Lorraine, whose race was superseded on the throne of France by the dynasty of Hugh Capet; and though they would have found it hard to prove this descent to fastidious genealogists, the history of their family gave plausibility to their claim. When their niece ascended the throne of France, they received a solid accession of power; and whatever may have been the form of their ambitious dreams for the future, they had the certainty, while she and her husband lived, of ruling supreme in France.

The death of the young king was a severe blow to them, They had just perfected their measures for crushing the house of Bourbon, where, from the physical condition of the remnant of the Valois family, they saw the future probable successors to the throne of France. With the change

of fortune, they were compelled to give up their hold on Condé, Coligny, and the other illustrious victims through whom the cause of the Huguenots and the Bourbon family were to be crushed; and they found in Catherine of Medici, the mother of the boy who succeeded to the throne, one who had the will, and might very soon have the power, to trample them under her feet.

Far from abandoning their great projects, however, the history of their country has declared how they came back to the contest with redoubled efforts and new resources. The marriage of their niece was again in their hands, as a means of giving strength to their position. They bethought them that, with her claims on the crown of England, were she married to the heir of the King of Spain, the most powerful monarch of the day, there would arise a more glorious prospect for her and themselves than even that which the death of King Francis had extinguished. Accordingly they laboured hard to bring about her marriage with Don Carlos, the heir of the Spanish crown, then in his sixteenth year. The project was unsuccessful, and of the manner in which it was defeated we at least know this much, that Catherine of Medici was indefatigable in her efforts to baffle it. Among other evidence of her industry, some letters written in cipher to the Bishop of Limoges, the French ambassador in Spain, have lately been deciphered.[1] They are interesting in themselves, as specimens of the subtle and tortuous method by which this incomprehensible woman worked for her ends. One reading these letters cannot of course fathom their ultimate objects, which are laboriously concealed from the bishop himself; but the overpowering intensity of her eagerness to stop the match between her daughter-in-law and Don Carlos breaks through all the avowed objects of the correspondence.

Philip's own intentions lie hidden among the other mysteries of his policy; but it seems clear that he entertained, if he did not push, the match. Catherine's suspicions were directed against him at so early a period that,

[1] Chéruel, Marie Stuart et Catherine de Medicis, &c., 22.

when Don Juan de Manriquez was sent from Spain to France on a message of condolence for the death of Francis II., Catherine said this was a pretence; for his actual mission, in which he exerted himself, was to negotiate with the Guises for the marriage of their niece with Don Carlos. The preponderance which such an event would give to Spain, influenced the policy of France in relation to the resumption of the Council of Trent, as seriously affecting the influence which Spain, aggrandised by such an alliance, would exercise among the Catholic powers.[1]

The immediate object most keenly urged by Catherine is a personal meeting with Philip. She seems to have thought that, if she once had an opportunity of talking with him, all her objects were gained—a curious instance of her thorough reliance on her diplomatic powers, since it would be difficult to point in history to a potentate more obdurately and hopelessly self-willed than the man she expected to bring over. Intensely as she desired the interview, it must be so arranged as to seem unpremeditated; and she laid down a little chain of events through which it might be brought to pass as if it were fortuitous. In September, as she ascertained, the King of Spain would attend a public spectacle in Aragon. Towards the end of July her son would make his public entry into Paris, after his consecration at Rheims. She might herself go as far as Touraine under the natural pretext of visiting Chenenceau, the beautiful chateau out of which she had driven her hated rival, Diana of Poitiers. Her son the king would be with her, and they might probably go on to Gascony, where the King of Navarre had a project for letting the people see their young king; so she would be near Spain, and the meeting, which must appear to the world an affair of chance, might be accomplished.

If the meeting were held, she was to take the opportunity of proving to Philip that the proposed marriage would in reality be disastrous to the interests of the Church, the promotion of which was the avowed object for urging it.

[1] Castelnau, Laboureur Additions aux Mémoires, i. 480, 554.

She knew that Philip held the interest of the Church beyond all things at heart; and could she but obtain this interview, there were innumerable shapes in which they could combine to promote that object, the dearest to her heart as it was to his. The Guises, though the self-constituted champions of the Church, were not truly devoted to it—they were too ambitious and worldly. Even now they were in league with the King of Navarre, whose interests would predominate in France along with theirs. Let the King of Spain sap this worldly coalition, and take to his bosom her own young son the King of France, inspire him with true zeal, and so raise up a hero worthy to serve with him in his great enterprise for the restoration of the rights of the Church. This pleading is a signal instance of the plausibility and subtle duplicity of the woman. She was then contemplating and preparing for an alliance of her own interests with those of the Guises, as likely to be the best security for her supremacy; but she did not desire that her prospective ally should acquire an influence which would give him the mastery. She relied thoroughly on the absorbing character of Philip's religious bigotry, though she had none herself; and yet at the same time she laid before him a small temporal bait, in case he should possess some latent element of worldliness, in her allusions to the King of Navarre, who was then disputing with the King of Spain the possession of certain territories.

She did not obtain her interview, but she gained her ultimate end in breaking the match. She bore, in her objections to it, on the King of Spain's ear through all available channels, not forgetting his confessor. Her most available ally, however, seems to have been her own young daughter, who had been married to Philip after the death of Mary, Queen of England. Catherine had known and keenly felt the humiliation of giving precedence to the haughty beauty as reigning queen, on the death of her husband, and could tell her own daughter what she had to anticipate in a similar position. The mother, indeed, suggested that her daughter, the Queen of Spain, should endeavour to keep this preferment for her own

young sister, Marguerite of Valois, the same who became afterwards the wife of Henry IV. It appears that at last Catherine of Medici even influenced the Guises to abandon their project.[1] But it was not abandoned by Mary herself. When she was not under the influence of the violent attachments to which she afterwards yielded, and while she viewed her marriage as a politic arrangement, she scorned anything but a thoroughly great alliance. So when it was proposed to marry her to the Archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor, she contemptuously rejected him for substantial reasons. As a stranger, he would have no following or political influence in Scotland. Estimating him among the powers of Europe, he was nothing but a younger son, without fortune or title, and with no power to assert her birthright—the entire sovereignty of Britain.[2] It was the more mortifying to her also to find that, when this marriage was proposed, Philip II. drew back in courtesy to his uncle the emperor. When he learned Queen Mary's repulse of the German alliance, he reopened the negotiation, observing that he would have been well pleased to have seen his relation the archduke husband to the Queen of Scotland, if that alliance would have furthered the views he had at heart; but he really believed a marriage with his own son would be more effective in settling religious difficulties in England. In the year 1563, when Don Alvaro de la Quadra was Spanish ambassador in England, there was at the same time a Spanish gentleman connected with his embassy named De Paz, who went to Scotland as representative of Spain with special instructions about the proposed marriage of Mary with Don Carlos, and, to shroud his journey in secrecy passed round by Ireland.[3]

The negotiations of De Paz, and their immediate result, are as yet buried in mystery. We know, however, that Mary herself renewed the negotiations for the marriage, if they can be ever said to have died. She wrote earnest

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[1] See Authorities in Mignet, chapter iii.
[2] See Documents, Labanoff, i. 248, 295.
[3] Chéruel, 35. Papiers d'État du Cardinal de Granvelle, vii. 208.

letters about it to Granvelle, her uncle the cardinal and her aunt the Duchess of Arschot. Castelnau, when he went to Holyrood after having delivered to Queen Elizabeth the mocking proposal for her marriage with the young King of France, said, probably with truth, that Queen Mary held easy and confidential communications with him about the several princes named to her, as the Archduke Charles, the Prince of Ferrara, several princes of Germany, and the Prince of Condé, an alliance with whom would accomplish the desirable end of bringing the house of Bourbon on closer terms with the house of Guise. The ambassador hinted that a marriage with the Duke of Anjou would enable her to return to France. To this she said, with a touch of graceful sentiment quite her own, that indeed no other kingdom in the world had such a hold upon her as France, where she passed her happy youth, and had the honour to wear the crown; but appropriate to this honour, it would hardly be becoming for her to return thither to fill a lower place, leaving her own country a prey to the factions by which it was rent; and then as to the matter of dignity, she had high expectations from certain suggestions about an alliance with Don Carlos, who would succeed to the great empire of Philip II. It was on this alliance that her mind was bent, for she spoke of it twice emphatically, in the midst of the slighting remarks in which she passed the others in review.[1]

She intrusted her secret foreign messenger Raulet, and one less known, called Chesein, to make for her those more full and confidential communications which she could not always trust on paper.[2] What remains of this correspondence shows that much more existed, and that there were many communications to her friends abroad, which she rather trusted to the spoken explanations of faithful agents than to letters.

The fragmentary traces of her exertions in this cause give some insight into the extent of the system of secret communication with her friends on the Continent which

[1] Mémoires, liv. v. c. 11.

[2] See Labanoff generally, down to 1564. Chéruel, 37.

she had established. Alava, the Spanish ambassador in France, is found writing repeatedly to Philip II. himself, in the year 1564 and in the early part of 1565, with statements how Beaton, the exiled Archbishop of Glasgow, whom he calls Queen Mary's secretary, presses for a definitive determination from Madrid on the question whether the marriage is to be or not. On the 15th of March 1565, he communicates the assurance of Beaton that unless the King of Spain come to the rescue, she will be compelled to throw herself away on a cousin of her own—namely, Henry, Lord Darnley ; and it is represented that she is deserted by her brother Murray, and driven by Queen Elizabeth to this undesirable union. A despatch of the 4th of June states that there is still time, for she is not yet married, and ardently desires the protection of the King of Spain. This last appeal was written seven weeks before her marriage.[1]

It is doubtful whether Queen Elizabeth, if she knew even that this project had been entertained, was aware how pertinaciously it was pressed. Knox, whose communications gave him means of accurate intelligence from the Continent, seems to have known something of what was going on, when he made those allusions to the queen's marriage which aroused her high displeasure. There is evidence that the ever vigilant Catherine of Medici had considerable knowledge of the affair, and continued to be busily counterplotting. In letters written in cipher she earnestly pressed it on Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes, the French ambassador at the Emperor of Germany's Court, to defeat the Spanish match by pressing the proposal for Mary's marriage with the Archduke Charles.[2] She sent Castelnau to Britain professedly to arrange the project already referred to of a marriage between Mary and her son the Duke of Anjou, the brother of the King of France and of Mary's dead husband. It was on the

[1] Extraits des Correspondances de Don Frances de Alava, du Secrétaire Aguilon, &c., Ambassadeurs ou Chargés d'Affaires de Philippe II. en France de 1563 à 1587.—Teulet, vol. iii. 1 *et seq.*

[2] Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, liv. iii. 552.

same mission that Castelnau was intrusted with the equally sincere proposal of a marriage between the young King of France and Elizabeth.

This king himself was among the reputed expectants of the hand of Mary; he is even said to have been deeply in love with her. Any project for their union, if it was ever really entertained at any time, had not vitality enough to call out the king's mother's active opposition, though her opinion against it is pretty clear She says the rumours about it were carried so far as to contain an assertion that the Pope's dispensation for a marriage so far within the forbidden degrees had been applied for, and was expected to arrive; but at the same time she says that this rumour was circulated for the purpose of concealing a project for marrying the young king to a granddaughter of the emperor, and that the author of the rumour was the King of Spain, who sought in this manner to stop a marriage which would too closely unite France and the house of Hapsburg.[1] It is on the correspondence of the period, too, that, conscious how strongly the poor youth was attached to her, Mary threatened to accept him, in the hope that the threat would bring Philip II. to terms.[2]

Among the other Continental dignitaries not already named, who, by their own desire or the schemes of diplomatists, were counted among the suitors for Queen Mary's hand, there were—the young Count of Orleans, of the house of Dunois, the nephew of her mother's first husband; the Duke of Nemours, of the house of Savoy; and the Duke of Ferrara. Greater than any of these was the young King of Denmark. The unhappy Eric, King of Sweden, was another competitor for her hand; and his suit was pressed with considerable earnestness for nearly three years after her arrival in Scotland. His subsequent misfortunes were caused by personal defects, which were not likely to be considered in the estimate of his claim. Politically, such a union would have been the best that could be found for the Protestant party; and Queen

[1] Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, liv. iii. 552.
[2] Spanish Correspondence quoted, Mignet, i. 134.

Elizabeth, if the affair had not been one about which female caprices and jealousies had got possession of her, would certainly have felt that a union between Scotland and a Protestant state fast rising into the position of a great European power was sound policy for the Protestant interest, and would have furthered the claims of the King of Sweden with her usual energy. Mary herself had, as we have seen, her own designs, to which it was not convenient to attract attention by the peremptory rejection of other proposals, and the negotiation with Sweden was allowed barely to live until it exhausted itself.

All this while there passed between the two queens expressions of cordial sympathy and intimacy, Mary throughout leaning with seductive confidingness on the counsel of her royal sister in the serious affair of her marriage. It is observable, however, that among her many letters to Queen Elizabeth which have been preserved, none are in the genial easy spirit of her French letters written with her own hand to her friends abroad. Whether she could write in English or Scots at that time, is, as we have seen, questionable. The few letters to Elizabeth in French, and the much larger number in Scots, are drawn by secretaries, and only pass out of the etiquette of state papers to express the feeling of cordial attachment and sympathy which the draughtsman was instructed to throw into his communication. Throughout, in the midst of the most profuse professions of regard and confidence, Mary is firm on the one essential point between them—she will give no distinct assent or ratification to the treaty of Edinburgh; and in the arrangements for their meeting, it was stipulated that "the said Queen of Scots shall not be pressed with anything she shall show herself to mislike, before that she be freely returned into her own realm."[1] This meeting, which was never to be, went so far on the face of the negotiations that the French ambassador De Foix reported to Catherine of Medici how it was to be held at Nottingham on the 8th of September 1562. He wrote in great alarm, anticipating a cordial alliance be-

[1] Labanoff, i. 152.

tween the two queens, which would extinguish all remains of the ancient league between France and Scotland, and give England such an increase of power as would probably soon be proved in the recapture of Calais.[1]

At the time we have reached, the great civil war had begun in which the Guises led the contest against the Huguenots, as representing not only the interests of Catholicism but the throne itself, since the king was in their possession. Queen Elizabeth sent over troops to aid the Huguenots. Randolph officially communicated this act to Queen Mary, who received the information in sadness, but in candour and courtesy, saying she believed her uncles were true subjects of their prince, and did but execute their orders; adding, that "she was not so unreasonable as to condemn those who differed from her in opinion, still less was she inclined on their account to abate anything of the friendship she felt for his mistress the Queen of England." The astute reporter of this scene assured Cecil, his master, in the end of December 1563, that Mary heard almost as seldom from France as the King of Muscovy.[2]

In fact, the gifted pupil of the Italianised French Court, under her winning smile and the bland courtesy which seemed also so full of candour, kept impenetrably hidden a subtle dissimulation, which was high art beside the clumsy cunning of Elizabeth and her English advisers, who could not rid themselves of the consciousness that they were doing what was uncongenial to British natures, and were ever apt to overact or otherwise bungle their part. At Holyrood the practised statesman felt secure in his communications with a woman, young, gentle, and inexperienced, whose weaknesses were a careless frivolity and too easy reliance on others. At Westminster the same practised statesman would have an uneasy consciousness that there was duplicity in the communication with him, though he might not be able to trace it home.

In the course of the friendly messages between the two queens, which chiefly now bore on the question of the marriage, Sir James Melville was sent to Elizabeth. He

[1] Teulet, ii. 24. [2] Document quoted, P. F. Tytler, vi. 269.

was a shrewd observer with a strong sense of the ludicrous, as well as an accomplished courtier; and his account of the attentions paid to him, the professions lavished on him, and the tricks, as they might be termed, to secure his confidence, is highly amusing. He was not for a moment deceived, and set down the whole as dissimulation and jealousy.[1] His mission occurred at a curious juncture in the affair of the marriage, which gives a zest to his personal sketches of Darnley, Leicester, and other bystanders, as well as of Elizabeth herself. We are told how she stealthily shows him Leicester's picture, comparing the handsome courtierly man it represents with "yonder long lad" the Lord Darnley, and drives the faithful courtier nearly frantic by determining to have his candid opinion on her own personal beauty as compared with that of his mistress. At his wits' end how to give her some honest praise, he had his opportunity at last, when it was managed that by chance he should hear her performing on the virginals, and pleaded that while wandering about "his ear was ravished with her melody, which drew him into the chamber he could scarcely tell how."[2]

Just before this visit Elizabeth had declared herself on the question of the marriage. She had objected to every claimant brought forward by others. Her position seemed unreasonable; but when she changed it for a positive recommendation, she only added amazement to the other misgivings and difficulties, by proposing her own favourite, Leicester. What did she mean by this?—was it to extinguish temptation by fixing a gulf between her, and one whom she loved not wisely, but too well? Was it to shut the mouth of scandal, by a sort of protest that she was totally indifferent to him? Was it a mere dash into the diplomatic proceedings about her royal sister's marriage, for the purpose of throwing them into confusion? These are questions which those only who know what kind of sentiments may vibrate through such sinewy hearts as hers can profess to solve.

The proposal scattered dismay among Elizabeth's sage

[1] Memoirs, 129. [2] Ibid., 125.

advisers, who wist not what to do. Leicester had been giving himself airs among them; and though they might consider him a rash young man, whose intellect was inflated by intoxicating draughts of regal caresses, yet some of the wisest of them covertly sought his goodwill, as that of the man who might some day soon be their master. Randolph, in his confidential communings with Cecil, muttered his uneasiness in conjectures about "how unwilling the queen's majesty herself would be to depart from him, and how hardly his mind could be diverted or drawn from that worthy room where it is placed, let any man see, where it cannot be thought but it is so fixed for ever, that the world would judge worse of him than of any living man, if he should not rather yield his life than alter his thoughts."[1] Murray seemed desirous of the match—at least he spoke well of it. Leicester himself seems to have been silent, awaiting his destiny at the hands of Elizabeth. Mary not having fallen in love with Leicester—whom, by the way, she never saw—did not abandon her ambitious projects of a great regal alliance; and after having slighted suitors who, if below her mark, were still royal, received the proposal to marry the upstart favourite of her rival with an angry disdain, which she could not or did not wish to conceal. Indeed she repeatedly brought it up and discussed it in voluble irritation with the perplexed Randolph. Was she, the widow of the greatest sovereign in Christendom, to mate with a mere subject of the English queen? It was useless to say that a subject of Scotland had been gravely commended as a fitting match for Queen Elizabeth. That subject was of royal blood, and might become a sovereign—his father was then heir of the crown of Scotland, and it might be that the descendant of such a marriage should inherit both kingdoms—but what was Dudley? Little better than a Court lackey, and remarkable in his descent only for the criminality of an ancestor who belonged to the offensive and rapacious class called in Scripture publicans. There was an odd and something like a diseased desire to hover about this proposal,

[1] Quoted, Tytler, vi. 288.

offensive as it was, along with the question of the marriage generally. Wayward and capricious as her talk was, however, it never touched her projects about foreign princes. Sometimes it would take a gloomy turn. She was sick of all projects for her disposal. Her heart was in the grave of her dead husband, and she took opportunity after opportunity to show how dear he was to her memory.[1]

People of strong passionate natures are often subject to reactionary influence, productive of depression, debility, and futile restlessness. In after-years, Queen Mary's nerves were more than once thus shattered, but the cause was then only too conspicuous to the world. For three months before her second marriage, the English resident's newsletters are disturbed by like symptoms from causes of irritation and anxiety unknown. The death of her illustrious uncle, and the perilous position of the house of Guise; the negotiations with Rome—hidden under a Protestant policy that might crush her if they were discovered; her remorseless sacrifice of Huntly, the best friend to her Church and herself,—were items all-sufficient to frighten and unnerve the strongest nature Yet perhaps it was only that her vehement heart was not then occupied by any object of exclusive devotion. Repeatedly Randolph had to allude to her evident sufferings from some secret sorrow, and seemed to think that her days were numbered. At times she was so ill that he could not see her, however urgent his business. At others, she received him at long, bewildering, sorrowful conferences at her bedside. Then suddenly she had taken horse and gone off to Perth or St Andrews—on one

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[1] "On Saturday last she solemnly celebrated the obsequies of her husband."—Randolph; State Papers (Foreign), 1563, p. 435. "She said that she had two jewels that must die with her, and wittingly shall never lie out of her sight, and showed him a ring which she said was her husband's" (617). In March 1564 "he had long purpose with this queen, as well of her own estate as his sovereign's, touching their marriage. As for this queen, the remembrance of her late husband is so fresh that she cannot think of any other. Her years are not so many but she may abide; and that which is most of all, she is neither sought nor desired of any" (71).

occasion to Dunbar, where there was still a French garrison, and the resident suspected that she was on a perfidious and dangerous mission.[1] The resident's correspondence at this period is rife with ominous rumours and unverified predictions. It has from this cause a sort of negative instructiveness, since it teaches us that afterwards, when a whole chapter of tragic events followed thickly on each other, we must not take for granted that every mysterious hint or rumour finding its way into the ambassador's budget of news indicated an accurate foreknowledge of what was to come.[2]

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[1] "Touching this queen's going to Dunbar on Monday last to pass her time, immediately arose a bruit that two ships were arrived there that night, either that there was some nobleman come out of France, or that the queen, taking a despite against this country, would again into France; and for that caus Martigues came to Calais to receive her and the ships to convey her. To augment this suspicion it was said that in the night there were conveyed out of the abbey four great chests; and that she being on horseback said to Lord Morton, 'God be with you, my Lord Morton; I will bring you other novels when I come again.' The next day cometh the news that one of the two ships that are laden with artillery to come into Scotland was arrived at Dunbar, and the other was taken by the Englishmen. That night, Wednesday, sudden warning was given to all Murray's friends and servants in this town, to ride out and to lodge themselves about Dunbar, for that Bothwell was come secretly to speak with the queen with many horses, and that Murray, being without any company, might perchance have fallen into some danger."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 1564, p. 62.

[2] The following about a mysterious banquet, of which I am not aware that there is any other record, is a good specimen of this style of correspondence: "The banquet ensued hereupon. What devilish devices are imagined upon it, passes almost the wit of man to think. Little good some say is intended to some or other. The banquets made by her mother a little before she went about to suppress God's Word made at that season of the year, are called to mind—this was the Shrovetide before the troubles. News herewith comes that many sail of ships were coming out of France to land in Scotland; this bruit had almost spilt the whole potage. This confirmed all the rest that no good was intended to the poor Protestants, nor amity to be kept with England. To what end are all these banquets? For the space of twelve or fourteen days together, every nobleman had his day about, and the Lord of Lethington excelled all save the queen. But while they pipe and dance, their enemies shall land and they have their throats cut. I was content to let this rumour run, so far as no

Dudley had just received the title, by which he is best known, of Earl of Leicester; and Cecil commending him to Murray and Lethington shows how, "First, he is of noble birth and void of all evil conditions that sometimes are heritable to princes, and in goodness of nature and richness of good gifts, comparable to any prince, and much better than a great sort now living. He is an Englishman, and so meet to carry with him the consent of this nation to accord with theirs. He is also signally esteemed of the queen, so that she thinks no good turn or fortune greater than may be well bestowed upon him. And for his degree at this time, he is already an earl of this realm, and she will give him the highest degree." Behind this and other commendations on the part of English statesmen, there lies the question whether they spoke in the hearty desire to give effect to the wishes of their mistress, or were anxious to remove from her an object of temptation and a cause of scandal. It was no doubt by the order of their mistress that they became anxiously diplomatic as to what she would do in support of Mary's claim to succeed her on the throne of England. Through a hazy mist of words, however, there never comes the direct promise to acknowledge Mary as the nearest heir of Elizabeth. "She will cause inquisition to be made" in the matter, and so far as shall stand with justice and her own security, Queen Elizabeth "shall remove all things prejudicial to her sister's interest," &c.[1]

An event of a simple character breaks in upon the various negotiations and intrigues for providing Mary with a husband, when the tall stature and fresh boyish face of a foolish youth settled the matter by love at first sight. It was at Wemyss Castle, a weather-beaten fortress on a rock rising from the northern coast of the Firth of Forth, that

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suspicion could be gathered of the queen that I was a mover of it. What men expected to have found among so many secret banqueting dishes, or what we remember of like banqueting, and what parts had been used at such times, it skills not how little is spoken."—Randolph to Cecil, 21st February 1564; Scots MS. 1, Rolls house. It is rendered very nearly word for word in the Calendar.

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 264.

Mary first saw her cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, about the middle of February 1565. He had just come from England to join his father, and finding the queen absent from Edinburgh on one of her many progresses, he took the privilege of a relation to push on and visit her. They had no sooner met than the many keen eyes that watched the young widow and the handsome youth saw what was to be.[1]

The meeting was no mere accident, though Mary does not appear to have furthered or expected it. The young man's birth placed him naturally within the view of those who busied themselves about the disposal of her hand. He was of a family which had branched off from the old Stewart stock before it became royal, and several early intermarriages connected his ancestry with the reigning line of the family. His connection with the throne of Scotland followed that of the house of Hamilton. He was more closely allied to the English throne, since his mother, Margaret Douglas, was a daughter of Henry VIII.'s sister Margaret, the widow of James IV., by her marriage with Angus. According to the rules of strict lineal descent, Mary was at that time heir to the crown of England, as the child of Margaret's son, and he was next after her in succession as the descendant of Margaret's daughter. He was the nearest prince of the blood in Queen Elizabeth's Court, and Sir James Melville saw him take that

[1] It is unexpected to find Randolph announcing to Leicester of all men the arrival and propitious reception of Darnley. He writes on the 19th of February, "His courteous dealing with all deserves great praise and is well spoken of." Going to meet the queen, as his own horses had not come, Randolph supplied him, and "upon Friday he passed over the water, and on Saturday he met with the queen, where he heard that he was welcomed and honourably used. He lodged in the same house that she did for that time, and this day repairs towards his father."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 301. Then on the 27th there is some curiously-mixed gossip sent to Cecil. Darnley "has been with him, and came again to the queen, at her coming over the Queen's ferry upon Saturday last." Yesterday he and Darnley dined with Murray. "His behaviour is liked, and there is great praise of him." Accompanying Murray "he heard Mr Knox preach;" and on the evening of the same day, as it would seem, "he being required by Murray, danced a galiarde with the queen."—Ibid., 305.

place in one of the ceremonials of Leicester's promotion. There was much parade, and some difficulty, about his father, Lennox, obtaining leave to visit Scotland about his personal affairs, as if both Elizabeth and the other parties concerned felt that there was something more in view than the mere object avowed.[1] It was with the becoming and very natural profession of joining his father that the young Darnley visited the queen, and at once found himself on the summit of fortune's wheel. Elizabeth professed herself extremely indignant that two of her subjects should have taken the opportunity of their leave of absence to transact business so important.

Queen Elizabeth on this occasion showed herself abso-

[1] In September and October the English resident sees distinctly the sunshine of Court favour turning in the direction of the house of Lennox. On the 23d of September, "by the queen's command, Lennox (who had newly arrived) was welcomed. On Sunday the earl kept his house quiet, and at night banqueted the four Marys. On the 25th, the queen being present, it was agreed that Lennox should be restored." On the 24th of October he tells how "on Sunday there was married a daughter of the Justice Clerk [Sir John Bellenden] three miles from Edinburgh, where the most of the ladies were. After dinner thither went the queen and the four Marys, to do honour to the bride. She returned that night, and supped with Lennox and the writer also. In the midst of her supper she drank to Queen Elizabeth, adding these words 'de bon cœur.' That night she danced long and in a mask; and playing at dice lost Lennox a jewel of crystal set in gold. . . . The queen is determined to accord the Earl of Lennox and the duke. Much talk there is to what end all this favour showed to Lennox tends. He is well friended of Lethington, who, it is now thought, will bear much with the Stewarts for the love he bears to Mary Flemynge"—one of the "four Marys" whom Lethington married. Lennox was a rich man from his English estates, and he let his wealth be felt in splendid and munificent living. "His cheer is great and his household many, though he has despatched divers of his train away. He finds occasions to disburse money very fast, and of his £700 that he brought with him is sure that much is not left. He gave the queen a marvellous fair and rich jewel, whereof there is made no small account, a clock, and a dial curiously wrought and set with stones, and a looking-glass very richly set with stones in the four metals; to Lethington a very fair diamond in a ring, to the Earl of Athol another, as also to his wife he knows not what; to divers others somewhat, but to Murray nothing. He presented also each of the Marys pretty things. The bruit is here that Lady Lennox and Lord Darnley are coming."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 213, 228-230.

lute both in word and deed in treating the Lennox family —father, mother, and son—as her subjects bound to obedience. We have seen the foundation of this claim in the father's assurance to Henry VIII.[1] He was endowed with new domains in England, and the Estates of Scotland passed on him an act of forfeiture, which they took the opportunity of his return, under conditions so altered, to revoke. It is useless to ask how far Queen Elizabeth was entitled by the letter of the law to the authority she so ineffectually claimed—the question might involve any amount of discussion, both on the preliminary point of the naturalisation to England of the Lennox family, and on the amount of regal control over their motions involved by their being English subjects. But it may be noted that, had the marriage been taken up by the Government of England as a state question, in which it was strong enough to interpose, there would have been a ready justification at hand, in the great secret that was never, unless in cases of necessity, to be heard on the north side of the border—the claim of feudal superiority over Scotland, believed, on the authority of documents unquestioned, to be vested in the crown of England. We have seen how Cecil deliberated over a beneficent use of this power. Afterwards we shall find how it was thought necessary on the part of England to assert it—but parenthetically, as it were —in a critical conference between English and Scots statesmen. With this right in the English crown, if the English crown should become strong enough to exercise the right, the marriage of Mary with Darnley would have been an affair between two vassals who must take their orders from the sovereign of England.

Practically this question did not come up—there were others more immediately urgent and critical. There was more than one discussion by the Council of England, and at last they found in the objections to the marriage a plea for an object they had at heart, and a plea all the stronger that Queen Elizabeth had herself started the objections. They approached their object gradually. They

[1] See chap. xxxv.

drew attention to the menacing combinations among the Popish powers. They connected with these symptoms how Mary and her husband the King of France had claimed the crown of England, and had persistently refused or evaded the ratification of the treaty abjuring that claim. They looked nearer home, and found too closely in coincidence with these, other special causes of alarm; as, for instance, "in perusing of the substance of the justices of the peace in all the counties of the realm, scantly a third part was found fully assured to be trusted in the matter of religion, upon which only thing hangs the title of the Queen of Scots. The friends of Lennox and Darnley had more knowledge hereof than was requisite, and they made a vaunt now in Scotland that their party was so great in England as the queen dare not attempt to contrary this marriage." Then came the remedy for the danger in an urgent argument on the text, "that it was necessary to obtain that the queen should marry with no long delay."[1]

To Murray and the Protestant lords the crisis was now approaching, and they felt it. Darnley belonged to the Church of Rome, and thus the question, which religious party should have the influence of the queen's husband on its side, was coming to a determination. Matters might have been much worse; and few people either in England or Scotland then knew the imminent risk, that the most powerful monarch of the day, who was at the same time the most ardent champion of the Popedom, might have a legitimate right to dictate to Scotland. The Protestant lords felt, however, that in the prospect of the marriage the queen was showing the flag of her true party.

Murray resolved at this juncture to try his strength in a form which suggests strange associations with subsequent events—he tried it not against Darnley himself, but against Bothwell, who had just returned from France, where he had sought refuge from the criminal charge already spoken of. That charge Murray now urged against him—it was the same strange plot against the queen in which he had the mad Arran as his confidant and denouncer.

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 385.

The indictment against Bothwell for high treason came up for trial on the 2d of May 1565, before the Earl Argyle as Lord Justice-General, one of Murray's supporters. It is one of the most remarkable instances on record of a judicial proceeding being turned into a trial of party strength, yielding only in this characteristic to another and more memorable trial to which Bothwell was called. Finding his enemy too strong for him, he disappeared and was outlawed. Randolph reported the triumphant support given to Murray in these terms: "The company that came to this town in favour of my Lord of Murray are esteemed five or six thousand, and for my part I assure your honour I never saw a greater assembly." It was put on the record of the trial at Bothwell's instance that he "dare not compear for fear of his life at this time and place, by reason of the great convention of his enemies and unfriends."[1] Thus, though his power was tottering, Murray found and showed that he still ruled in Scotland. The terms in which Randolph continues his letter are curious and significant, as the first traces noted by a contemporary on the spot of the queen's partiality for Bothwell—yet what the agent meant to convey was probably rather the evidence of her antipathy to Murray. "The queen," he says, "has shown herself now of late to mislike of Murray that he so earnestly pursued him"—namely, Bothwell; "and further, the queen would not that the justice-clerk should proceed, which hath bred here so mighty mislike, and given occasion to such kind of talk against her grace for bearing with such men in her own cause, that that which is already spoken passeth all measure. So many discontented, so large talk, so plain and open speech, I never heard in any nation; and, in my simple judgment, see not but it must burst out to some great mischief."[2] These sentences, which, estimated by the light of subsequent events, seem inspired by the spirit of prophecy, are but Randolph hinting, with the proper technical mysteriousness, that Murray is going down, and a new ruling influence arising in Scotland.

[1] Pitcairn, i. 464*. [2] Raumer, 46.

It is at this juncture that another remarkable actor in the tragic events to come appears on the stage—David Rizzio, the Italian. As he is never spoken of among his contemporaries except either in contempt or hatred, it is difficult to know his social position and his personal qualities. He certainly had not that distinction of birth which would enable him to refer to his family as one publicly known for its eminence. But people seldom asked about the family of any of the Italians, so numerously scattered among the European Courts : they were gentlemen at least by training and education, and able by their subtle talents to hold their own place among the local feudal aristocracy. Buchanan, to whom we owe nearly all that is known of his early history, says he was a native of Turin, and came to Scotland in the train of Morette, or Moretti, the Piedmontese ambassador, who arrived in the year 1561, and that he entered the queen's service as a musician, being a skilful singer and performer.[1] Some writers on the history of Scots music have suggested, but on no better foundation than his reputed skill, that he may have been the author of the old melodies so much loved by natives and admired by strangers. That he was old, deformed, and strikingly ugly, has been generally accepted by historians, but is not said of him by either Knox or Buchanan, both of whom had opportunities of seeing him, and were not inclined to forget anything likely to render him odious. The common notion of his personal appearance seems to have been derived from the account of Adam Blackwood, who is very unlikely to have ever seen him ; but it is a matter of no real moment in the events with which the poor man was connected.

It is more important to correct another common supposition, that Mary advanced him to high offices of state. Such an act might seem naturally a continuation of the practice established under Mary of Lorraine as regent ; but the two things are, when examined, very different. Rizzio was at best a man who had to find his own livelihood, employed at what his services were worth to his

[1] Buchanan, xvii. 44. See Teulet, ii. 50, 76.

employer; the foreigners promoted by the regent were Frenchmen of high rank sent to Scotland to carry out the French projects of domination. There can be no doubt, however, that the Italian was very valuable to the queen, and very powerful. Knox seems accurately to describe his official position in saying, "The queen usit him for secretary in things that appertainit to her secret affairs in France or elsewhere."[1]

A skilful person, versed in foreign languages, on whom she could rely, was extremely valuable to her at this time. Some other persons flit casually across her own correspondence, and the other letters of the period, in the same capacity. One, named Chesein, carries despatches to her Guise relations and other correspondents, and is also intrusted with verbal communications.[2] A man called Yaxley—an Englishman apparently, who had been secretary to the Council in the reign of Edward VI.—was sent on a special mission to the Netherlands, where, through the Duchess of Arschot, he communicated with the Duchess of Parma, the regent, who thought his communications so important that she passed him on to deliver them at the Court of Spain. This man seems to have been a babbler, who boasted of his diplomatic services and his influence, and there is no trace of his having been again employed. His revelations were reported to Elizabeth, who founded on them in her complaints of the risk she incurred from the machinations of Mary.[3] Another of her emissaries was David Chambers, a follower of Bothwell, a scholar and an author, who had studied and served abroad, knew the politics and the customs of most European states, and had no scruples.

The French ambassador mentions an Italian, Francisque, her *maître d'hôtel*, as one of her confidential advisers; but the one who, next to Rizzio, seems to have been deepest in her counsels, was named Raulet. He was in the Low Countries transacting business with the Spanish authorities at this juncture, while Beaton represented her in France. Rizzio then was virtually her secretary for the foreign

[1] Knox, ii. 422. [2] Labanoff, i. 200, 209. [3] Teulet, ii. 53, 84.

affairs, in relation to which these were her emissaries or ambassadors.[1] There was serious business in hand for them all, since the crisis was approaching which found Mary a member of the Catholic League. It is part of the mystery, however, of the poor Italian's history, that, though he was thus deeply occupied in politics, scarcely any traces of his movements have survived. He is not referred to so frequently as Raulet and Chesein in the correspondence before his death. There is scarcely a known document under his hand, and it has been difficult to identify his signature.

It was rumoured at the time that the Italian did his best to forward the marriage with Darnley. Such a course was natural; it would unite duty with self-interest. Darnley belonged to "The Church," and so the claims of religion were satisfied. He was not a man likely to govern without help, and supersede the queen's adviser; while under any great foreign potentate Rizzio might have been nobody. It was well, too, if other objects did not preponderate, to keep favour by giving the advice most agreeable to his patroness.

On the 15th of May 1565, a special council or assembly of great feudal lords and officers of state was held at Stirling. It was not a Parliament, nor was it a meeting of the Secret Council. There is no authentic list of those present, nor are there the means of ascertaining the criterion on which they were selected. It is stated, however, that among those present were Hamilton, Duke of Chatelherault, always called "The Duke," with the Lords of Athole, Ruthven, Morton, Glencairn, Lindsay, Rothes, Glammis, Semple, Boyd, and several others high in feudal influence. Murray was present; but singularly enough, considering the business to be transacted, the name of Lennox does not occur on the lists.[2] To this assemblage Mary announced her intended marriage with Darnley. A curious incident happened outside the castle, where the meeting was held. Throckmorton, coming post from

[1] Ibid., 76; Labanoff, i. 200, 202.
[2] Keith (8vo edition), ii. 280.

England to argue and protest against the proceedings which were to take place that day, arrived at the gate of Stirling Castle while the lords were assembled. Though he had sent his cousin Middlemore before him to demand an audience, he found the gate shut, and a deaf ear given to all his demands and prayers for admission. He was obliged to seek his own lodging in the town, whence he was afterwards called by the queen to an audience.[1] After his audience was over, Darnley was created Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross, as steps to the rank he was presently to be lifted to. This earldom, bringing down the traditions of the old Maarmorate, was, as we have seen, reserved as a title to the royal family, after the manner in which the French monarchy reserved for the princes of the blood the titles of the royal fiefs which were from time to time annexed to the crown.

Difficulties were now thickening round Murray and the Protestant party. The Lennox family recovered their great feudal power in the west. In the north the Gordons, being left for some time unmolested, were gathering up the fragments of their old authority. Other men of influence, who were secret Romanists or but doubtful Protestants—a body larger among the aristocracy than the Reformation party—now found that they could act according to their inclinations or interests without danger. There was but one reliance for the Reformation party—that England would come to the rescue. The opportunity for carrying out the policy begun by Henry VIII., and establishing an English supremacy supported by Protestantism in Scotland, had never been so good as now, when two parties, hating each other, and each in fear of extirpation by the other, were trembling in the balance. The opportunity was so good that the Protestant party in Scotland seemed not to doubt that it would be seized. Elizabeth's advisers thought so too, and felt provoked as the time for action slipped past. Randolph, in his impatience, pressed it on Cecil that if troops were not to be sent, money alone, and but little of that, might accomplish great things.

[1] Keith (8vo edition), ii. 280

"A little now spent in the beginning affordeth double fruit. What were it for the queen's majesty, if she list not to do it by force, with the expense of three or four thousand pounds, to do with this country what she would?"[1]

Elizabeth, however, was sullenly immovable. She had protested in various forms against the marriage, and even by some stretch of the law had got the only member of Darnley's family left in England—his mother, Lady Lennox—committed to the Tower. She had even obtained resolutions by the English Council condemnatory of the marriage, as a matter affecting an English subject of the blood-royal and the succession of the crown of England. But there were reasons why the Queen of England's opposition should be limited to mere words. The marriage was, on the whole, not unsatisfactory. It was to the two queens what an act of folly or imprudence is in ordinary life — rivals and competitors must for decency's sake protest against it, but are not sincerely vexed at heart to hear of a fall which will substitute pity for rivalry. If, when the Armada was at last in the Channel, Elizabeth knew and remembered how near, to all human appearance, her rival had been to the throne of Spain, she must have more fully estimated the peril escaped by England and Protestantism in the advancement of her worthless cousin.

The profession of amity, however, between the two queens was kept up, and, on Mary's side at least, with great skill to the last. She commissioned Lethington, who was in England, to press for Elizabeth's approval of the marriage. That rather self-willed and tortuous statesman, however, had his own views, and resolved to pursue them. He was on his way back to Scotland, probably alarmed at the course of matters there, when he met Beaton, Mary's messenger, at Newark, and finding his worst fears confirmed by the instructions sent to him, instead of returning to London, joined Throckmorton, the ambassador sent from England to remonstrate with Mary; and, like the other chiefs of the Protestant party, consulted

[1] Quoted, Tytler, vi. 344.

with him how to thwart the marriage.[1] She sent afterwards John Hay, commendator of Balmerinoch, called also her "principal master of requests," with instructions dated 14th June 1565, in which she professed an anxiety to conciliate Elizabeth, and obtain her approval of the now arranged marriage.[2]

It was necessary, however, that professions of amity between the sovereigns should cease; and Randolph, who had the disagreeable part of the discussion on his hands, was the first to feel the change. Writing to Leicester on the 5th of February 1564, he says in his simplicity, "It may please your lordship to understand that this queen is now content to give good ear unto the queen's majesty's suit in your behalf." Blandly satisfied about his reception in Scotland, he continues: "Greater entertainment or greater honour could not be done to the greatest ambassador that the queen's majesty could have sent unto this queen than was done to me at St Andrews. For four days together I dined and supped daily at her grace's table. I sat next unto herself (saving worthy Beton, our mistress). I had longer talk and conference with her than any other during the time; enough, I assure your lordship, if I were able to report all, can make all the ill-

[1] By Throckmorton's own account, "Lethington had also commission after his charge done in England to repair into France, and there make the French king and that state to allow of her choice; and the rather to move Lethington to take legations, she sent him a bill of credit to the receivers of her dowry in France, to disburse unto him what money he would ask, and to spare for no cost. And to incite him to this voyage she wrote him the most favourable and gentle letter with her own hand that ever queen did write to her servant, not leaving behind large promises for his benefit and greatness in time to come. Notwithstanding this charge and enchantment he would neither return to London nor yet into France, but pursued Throckmorton, and overtook him at Alnwick, whence both journeyed to Edinburgh."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 361. This "favourable and gentle letter" unfortunately is not in any of the Marian collections, nor have we another paper telling her reasons for following her own inclination and will, instead of the dictation of others, though we may believe the concise description by Throckmorton who had a glimpse of it, that in it "there wanted neither eloquence, despite, anger, love, nor passion."—(Ibid.)

[2] Keith, ii. 293; Labanoff, i. 271; Teulet, ii. 56.

willers to both these queens' felicities to burst asunder for envy."[1] Afterwards, on the 2d of July, when he had been, partly with persuasion and partly with threat, urging Darnley to go back like an obedient subject to England, and thereupon craved audience of the queen, "I was received," he says, "in stranger sort than ever I was before, as a man new and first come into her presence, whom she had never seen."[2] So far as the Court was concerned, the English connection might now be considered at an end. The Court of France was not in a position to exercise its old influence in Scotland; but when the civil conflicts were over and the Guises supreme, the French alliance might be expected to revive with renewed vigour.

It is stated in Knox's History and elsewhere that the queen strove hard to persuade Murray to assent to the marriage. His determined refusal was the key-note to the views of those who still adhered to the Protestant party. It had been intended to hold a Parliament at Perth, and there solemnly desire the assent of the Estates of Scotland to the union; but the position taken up by Murray and his friends suggested that it would be the safer policy to evade a Parliament, as its concurrence could not be calculated on, and discussions of which no one could foresee the result might arise from bringing together parties fiercely opposed.

A General Assembly meeting in Edinburgh at the time when it was intended that the Parliament should have met at Perth, afforded in the mean time a sort of rallying-point for the more zealous of the Protestant party. This meeting had been preceded by a local event of an exciting nature. It had become the practice to expect a scuffle with the followers of the old religion during their Easter celebrations. It is related in Knox's History how some of the brethren, "diligent to search such things," having with them one of the bailies of Edinburgh, "took one Sir John Carvet, riding hard, as he had now ended the say-

[1] Wright's Queen Elizabeth, i. 188.
[2] Letter to Cecil, Keith, ii. 298.

ing of the mass, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house and one or two more of the assistants, to the Tolbooth, and immediately revested him, with all his garments upon him, and so carried him to the market-cross, where they set him on high, binding the chalice to his hand, and himself fast tied to the said cross, where he tarried the space of one hour, during which time the boys served him with his Easter eggs. The next day following, the said Carvet, with his assistants, were accused and convinced by an assize, according to the Act of Parliament; and albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment he was set upon the market-cross for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by and keeping him, the boys and others busy with egg-casting."[1]

Then arose a tumult in which the poor priest might have fared still worse, but the provost coming with the town guard carried him back to the Tolbooth. The magistrates received a royal letter, calling on them to prosecute the rioters, and altogether in a more peremptory tone than any of the previous communications from the queen in matters where her own religion was concerned. The priest was released, and the matter went no further.

This was felt, however, as a heavy grievance by the Protestant clergy, and helped with many other things to strengthen the zeal with which they met in General Assembly, in the Nether Tolbooth, on the 25th of June 1565. They resolved, in the first place, "that the papistical and blasphemous mass, with all papistry and idolatry of Paip's jurisdiction, be universally suppressed and abolished throughout the haill realm, not only in the subjects, but in the queen's majesty's own person, with punishment against all persons that shall be deprehended to transgress and offend the same; and that the sincere Word of God and His true religion now presently received might be established, approven, and ratified throughout the whole realm, as well in the queen's majesty's own person as in the subjects, without any impediment."[2]

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[1] Knox, ii. 476.

[2] Book of the Universal Kirk.

It was further proposed that there should be a certain amount of compulsory attendance at worship by Act of Parliament. The Assembly took the opportunity to urge that the large ecclesiastical revenues otherwise disposed of, under the arrangement made in 1563, should be transferred to the Protestant Church. Five members of the Assembly were appointed to present these "articles" to the queen; and it is observable that they were all, though worshipful gentlemen, persons of little note in the history of the period, as if the presentation were a mere form, and not an agreeable one. The five commissioners were—Walter Lundie of Lundie, in Fifeshire; William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, in Ayrshire; William Durham of Grange, in Forfarshire; George Hume of Spot, in Berwickshire; and James Barron, burgess of Edinburgh.[1]

These commissioners went to the queen at Perth, and waited on her, "desiring and requiring her highness most humbly to advise therewith, and to give them an answer." Having retired to their quarters, expecting next morning to be summoned to receive the answer, they found that the queen had slipped out of their hands and gone to Dunkeld. Thither they followed her. They obtained audience, and were told by the queen that she required the advice of her Council in the matter, but that she proposed in a week to be in Edinburgh, and then they would get answer.

The answer, in as far as it has been preserved, exemplifies a peculiar distinction in practice between the two great creeds—that Roman Catholics, when not predominant, profess principles of toleration; while among Calvinistic Protestants, the time when they have least power is that in which they profess their most intolerant doctrines. She assured her loving subjects that as she had not in times past, so would she not hereafter, "press the conscience of any, but that they may worship God in such sort as they are persuaded in their conscience to be best." She meekly desired the same toleration for her own conscience. But even in this placid document there were

[1] Knox, ii. 486, Laing's note.

suggestive allusions to the quarter to which the queen was then looking for strength and support, and it was not one from which the principles of toleration were likely to radiate. Among the reasons why she must adhere to her religion was, that by apostasy "she should lose the friendship of the King of France—the married ally of this realm —and of other great princes her friends and confederates, who could take the same in evil part, and of whom she may look for their great support in all her difficulties." The abandonment of the ecclesiastical revenues, so far as they were in the possession of the crown, was civilly declined.[1]

It appears to have crossed the thoughts of the more zealous members of the Assembly in the mean time to organise an armed resistance; for we are told that they assembled on St Leonard's Craig, a small rocky eminence between Edinburgh and Arthur's Seat, "where they concluded they would defend themselves; and for the same purpose elected eight persons of the most able, two of every quarter, to see that the brethren should be ready armed."[2] Four burgesses were cited to answer for this affair; but the prosecution, of which this was the preliminary step, seems to have been abandoned.[3] This incident was supposed to be connected with the designs of Murray, who was then in his mother's Castle of Lochleven, ill, or pretending to be so. The queen was living at Perth, where the Parliament was to be held. She had promised to attend the christening of the Lord Livingstone's heir at Callander House, near Falkirk, and was prepared to ride thither in company with Darnley. They started together, with a strong escort, at an early hour, and reached Callander by ten o'clock; and the reason assigned for the feat was, that thus they avoided an ambush, to be laid by Murray and his confederates, to attack and seize them at a point where the road passed through a rugged defile of the Ochils. The elements of the conspiracy have been very distinctly set forth. Murray himself held Lochleven

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[1] Knox, ii. 488, 489. [2] Ibid., 487.
[3] Ibid., 490, Laing's note.

Castle, on the line of their journey; the Earl of Argyle was to descend with a force from his fortress of Castle Campbell, on the brow of the Ochils; and the Duke of Chatelherault had made his preparations at Kinneil, near to the ferry where the betrothed lovers would cross the Forth. It would not be difficult to believe in such a conspiracy, if tolerably well vouched; but there is scarcely a vestige of evidence in its support.[1] Murray, on his part, maintained that his life was in danger, and kept himself among his own immediate supporters. He was summoned to Court, and offered a safe-conduct for himself and eighty attendants; but he declined to appear—he was making arrangements for armed resistance. To prepare for a crisis, a royal summons was issued on the 22d of July, for a "raid" or general gathering of the crown vassals and their attendants.

The marriage of the queen and Darnley, who had just been created Duke of Albany, was celebrated on the 29th of July 1565. It was preceded by a Papal dispensation, on account of affinity in blood, and the ceremony was performed according to the office of the Romish Church. The queen, following the etiquette of a widow of France, wore her solemn state mourning dress, or dule robe, until the festival after the ceremony, when, as a wedded wife, she cast it off, and put on gayer attire. At the festival the ceremonials were imitated from the French Court, which was foremost in the practice of exacting menial services to the person of royalty from subjects of the highest rank. Lord Athole served as sewer, Morton as carver, and Crawford as cupbearer.[2]

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[1] See all that can be said for it in Chalmers, i. 140; Tytler, vi. 349; Miss Strickland, iv. 148.

[2] Randolph's Letter, in Wright, i. 202, and elsewhere.

CHAPTER XLIV.

QUEEN MARY.

(Continued.)

A STRONG GOVERNMENT — DARNLEY GETS THE TITLE OF KING — PARLIAMENTARY DISPLEASURE WITH THE ASSUMPTION—ARMING OF MURRAY AND HIS SUPPORTERS—THEIR DISPERSAL—PRESENT THEMSELVES TO ELIZABETH—HOW TREATED BY HER—DANGER OF ELIZABETH AND THE PROTESTANT CAUSE — PROJECTS OF THE ROMANIST POWERS—CONFERENCE AT BAYONNE—PHILIP, CATHERINE OF MEDICI, AND ALVA—DARNLEY'S CHARACTER DEVELOPS ITSELF—ODIOUS AMONG THE COURTIERS—HIS WIFE'S APPRECIATION OF HIM — PROGRESS OF RIZZIO'S INFLUENCE — PROJECT FOR PUTTING HIM OUT OF THE WAY—THE BAND FOR HIS SLAUGHTER —ARRANGEMENTS FOR EFFECTING IT—THE SUPPER-PARTY—RIZZIO DRAGGED OUT AND SLAIN — INQUIRY AS TO WHEN THE QUEEN KNEW OF HIS DEATH—HER CONDUCT BEFORE AND AFTER THAT KNOWLEDGE--LURES BACK HER HUSBAND—RETURN OF MURRAY AND HIS FOLLOWERS FROM ENGLAND—MURRAY MAKES PEACE—SECRET ARRANGEMENT OF THE QUEEN AND HER HUSBAND— THEIR ESCAPE TO DUNBAR.

THE world has been so accustomed to treat this marriage as a rash love-match, that what political significance it had is overlooked. This was far less momentous than the questions which a union with Spain or France might have raised, but it was not without importance. Darnley's mother did not forget that she, like Elizabeth, was a granddaughter of Henry VII., with this difference, according to the notion of herself and her religious party, that she was not, like the woman on the throne, tainted with illegitimacy.[1]

[1] For an animated account of the little opposition court presided over by Lady Lennox, in Yorkshire, see Froude, vii. 387, 389.

The new sovereigns began their reign with measures of successful vigour, which seemed to promise a strong and orderly government under the old religion and the old regal authority. A portion of the Protestant barons, including Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, and Kirkcaldy of Grange, resolved to combine against the new order of things. They stated that the laws against idolatry were not enforced, and that the mass and other abominations were tolerated. They stated, further, that the true religion was oppressed; and though this was not according to strict fact, unless the countenance given to Popery were to be set down as oppression, yet it is plain that Protestantism was in imminent danger; for the queen and her supporters were as fully determined to suppress Heresy whenever they were able, as Knox and his party were to suppress Idolatry. But there were other grounds for opposition of a constitutional character. The queen had not ventured to face a Parliament, and ask their sanction to her late doings. She had not only taken to herself a husband without consulting the great Council of the nation —an indecorous and ungracious thing—but she had proclaimed her husband as King of the Scots. It was maintained that this was illegal, since the monarch reigned by the assent of the Estates of the realm, and could not transfer any portion of the sovereign power to another without the intervention of these Estates. The power asserted by the Estates in such constitutional matters was very wide, and there was at least no precedent to support a denial of the claim in question. The portion of the declaration issued by the discontented barons at Dumfries which refers to this matter is extremely valuable, as one of the few lights, other than what the acts of the Estates themselves give us, on the constitutional power claimed for the Parliament of Scotland. They say—

"Of the same sinister counsel doth proceed that her majesty, without the advice of her Estates, yea, without the advice of the nobility either demanded or given, hath made and proclaimed a king over us, giving unto him, so far as in her highness lieth, power over our lands, lives, and heritages, and whatsoever is dearest unto us on the earth.

In the which doing the ancient laws and liberties of this realm are utterly broken, violated, and transgressed, and the liberty of the crown and state royal of Scotland manifestly overthrown, that he was made king over us that neither hath the title thereof by any lineal descent of blood and nature, neither by consent of the Estates."[1] It was afterwards put by Cecil to the French ambassador Le Croc, as a justification of the conduct of Elizabeth, that the assumption of the title of king without the assent of the Estates was contrary to law; and the Frenchman was reminded that even so illustrious a personage as the queen's first husband, Francis, had not taken the title of King of Scotland until it had been accorded by consent of the Estates.[2]

Meanwhile Randolph, with special instructions as to the tone of the English Court on the affair of the marriage, found it expedient to adopt the view of the declaration, and to deny Darnley's right to act as King Henry. His mistress had sent to him, as a coadjutor in his mission, a gentleman of her Court known as Sir John Tamworth, who suffered in the body for a rigid adherence to the principle of non-acknowledgment. Refusing to accept of a safe-conduct in the name of "King Henry," he was detained on his way back to England by the border freebooters, who secured him in Hume Castle, an act which he said had been suggested to them from Holyrood.

Those bound to give suit and military service were repeatedly required to attend the "raid" or array. The absence of important persons from these levies pointed them out as disaffected, and at the same time afforded means of punishing them by feudal forfeitures for default. It was thought fit at the same time specially to cite Murray and a few of the great opposition leaders by public proclamation, with the usual threat of prosecution for treason in case of disobedience. On the 1st of August, Murray was charged to appear under threat of denunciation "to the horn," or by public blast of trumpet; and on the 6th he was denounced accordingly, for, not being a man

[1] Calderwood, Appendix, ii. 573. [2] Teulet, ii. 73.

who would voluntarily place himself in the power of his enemies, he did not appear.

He, with the other discontented barons, assembled at Paisley. Those who had joined the royal raid at the same time marched to Glasgow, so that the two forces were close together. The discontented lords, who with their followers made altogether about a thousand horsemen, passed by Glasgow within sight of the royal pair, and took up their position at Hamilton. The duke was their avowed leader; but he had purposes of his own, differing from theirs, to serve, and they did not work well into each other's hands. They left him, and rode on to Edinburgh. There a provost had been chosen from their own party; but, in obedience to a royal letter, the appointment was cancelled, and a nominee of the Court appointed, who, when the cavalcade approached, directed the alarm-bells to be rung, and endeavoured to prevent the strangers from getting within the gates. They succeeded in entering the town, but were fired at from the castle. They issued missive writings, calling on the Protestants to rally round them; but they utterly failed in their endeavour, and gained no recruits. The royal army, about five thousand strong, had in the mean time marched to Hamilton, and was on its way to Edinburgh. Unable to meet it, the malcontents retreated to Dumfries, whence they issued the remonstrance already referred to.

The king and queen now took prompt measures, for indeed the shortness of the service which could be exacted from the feudal levy required that what was done should be done quickly. They were joined at that juncture by Bothwell, an adherent invaluable when daring and promptitude were needed. This was the beginning of the effective services which placed him, although a subject, in the position of one to whom his monarch owed heavy obligations. He came then from France, bringing with him an agent of many of his doings—David Chambers, a scholar and an author, whose naturally dark and subtle spirit was thoroughly trained in the unscrupulous policy of the Court of France. There arrived nearly at the same time from France the Lord Seton, a zealous member of the old faith,

and an able and daring man. He was the head of a house which had been powerful, until the triumph of the Reformation had overwhelmed it; but now, when the day of reaction had come, he returned to re-establish its influence. At the same time George Lord Gordon, the representative of the ruined house of Huntly, who was in law a denounced fugitive, was first relieved from this penal condition, and then step by step restored to the honours and, as far as that was practicable, to the vast possessions which had enabled his father to wage war with the crown. This occurred in August. Some months afterwards, as we shall see, Huntly's sister was married to Bothwell; it was a political alliance for strengthening the cause of the queen and her husband.

They seem in the mean time to have pressed pretty hard on the country in exacting the feudal levy. It could not be detained for a period sufficient for a campaign, and an attempt seems to have been made to remedy this by repeated citation. On the 23d of July, before the marriage, the whole feudal army had been cited to appear at Edinburgh, with fifteen days' provisions. On the 6th of August there was another citation of a raid to attend the king and queen on a progress through Fife. On the 22d of August all were again called to Edinburgh, with fifteen days' provision; and on the 17th of September the fencible men of the southern counties were cited to appear at Stirling on the 1st of October. Absence from these raids incurred feudal forfeitures. These had to be levied by the courts of law; and it would depend on the question whether the sovereign or some party among his subjects had the upper hand, how far the penalties would be levied. On the present occasion the crown was triumphant, and the recusants had to fear the worst. Their danger enabled the sovereign to extract aids from them in the shape of compromises, in which the legal proceedings were bought off. Making a progress northward through Fifeshire, money was thus raised from several of the gentry and royal burghs, including a considerable sum extracted from the town of Dundee. Edinburgh was peculiarly disaffected. Certain of the citizens being required to appear at Holyrood, a composition

was demanded, which they refused to pay, trusting probably that they would be able to evade or defy its enforcement by the courts of law. A transaction curiously suggestive of the feudal usages of the day followed. Money was much needed by the Court, and if threats would not force enough from the citizens of Edinburgh, any other available means must be taken. In the end a bargain was concluded, and they advanced a thousand pounds, receiving in pledge of repayment the superiority or feudal lordship of the neighbouring town of Leith. The Government repented of the bargain, and tried to cancel it; but the corporation of Edinburgh had already taken feudal sasine, and their hold was absolute, through the unyielding forms of the feudal law. It was the privilege of the burgesses of royal burghs to be the direct vassals of the crown; but by this transaction one corporation was made feudally subordinate to another —an arrangement which naturally occasioned many irritating disputes in later times.

Mary loudly demanded aid from France, and had it been obtained, the peril to Elizabeth's crown and the Protestant cause would have been greatly increased. But it was not for Catherine of Medici, if she could decently help it, to let the fast ally of Philip of Spain and her own old rival in France become Queen of England. Castelnau de Mauvissière was sent to Scotland to keep matters quiet, and a better messenger for such a purpose could not be found. Grave, conscientious, friendly, and peaceful, he was beyond his age, and was peculiarly free of the impulsive, warlike, and ostentatious propensities which have characterised his countrymen in all ages. His lengthy, and to all appearance faithful, record of his endeavours, only recently become known, throws a powerful light on the inner workings of the political mechanism. He brought with him certain letters from the young King of France to the discontented lords, urging them to quietness and to compromise. This, it will be observed, was in accordance with that patronising practice of the French Court, which was apt to overlook the diplomatic rule that sovereigns are only to communicate with sovereigns. In a four hours' interview which Castelnau had with Mary, she tried on him

all the various resources of her passionate and subtle nature. She became tempestuously angry, she cried, she besought him with seductive remindings of his old kindly attachment to the house of Guise—surely he would not do to her, a crowned queen, the dishonour of holding communication in name of another sovereign with her rebel subjects. Rather let it go forth that his mission is to arrange for the powerful armament that is to be sent by her brother of France to crush them. She spoke, seemingly, with the vehement impetuosity of one who had cast her fortunes on a die and was to abide the issue. The Frenchman spoke earnestly of the miseries of civil war, of which he had seen only too much at home; it might be so, but she was a sovereign, and was not to let her kingdom become a republic—she would die sooner; and so, whether helped from France or not, she would go at the head of her faithful subjects and put down the rebels. Castelnau, following his instructions, and totally unsuspicious of what was to occur in his own country, told her that the discontented lords only sought what was conceded to the Huguenots of France, permission to follow in peace their own religious observance—what we in this day call toleration; but she indignantly answered that they were her rebellious subjects, that they were conspiring against her own and her husband's life.

Castelnau ventured respectfully to hint that this was an exaggeration put into her head by their calumnious enemies—for courts, he said, were haunted by backbiters, who attacked the absent and defenceless; and as to the faults of her subjects, it were better that she should overlook these than drive them to the extremity of civil war. Those councillors, he reminded her, who were loudest for war, were not always the most valiant when it came to action; and many were the princes who had begun a civil contest in the haughty resolution of humbling ambitious subjects, and had come to see the day when they would have been glad to buy peace with the concessions at first arrogantly denied. The sage and moderate statesman pleaded in vain; the haughty queen had now taken the course she had long kept in the impenetrable recesses of her own

bosom. It is significant that, in the same Memoir in which he describes the beginning of her headlong career, he mentions Bothwell as her right-hand man, and likely to be made lieutenant-general of the kingdom—so, ostensibly, began this man's disastrous influence.[1]

On the 8th of October, the royal army, with the queen and her husband at its head, left Edinburgh and marched by Stirling and Crawford towards Dumfries. On their approach the leaders of the opposition retreated into England, abiding at Carlisle, and dismissing their small band of followers.

To all appearance the Reformation had now been virtually subdued, and the old Church was again predominant in Scotland. At Queen Elizabeth's Court this was naturally deemed a serious calamity. It has been seen that she was recommended to strike a blow before the fatal marriage was accomplished. If she ever entertained such a design, she hesitated in execution till it became too late. Circumstances had now greatly changed. To have conferred on Murray and his party an overwhelming power, while they were yet nominally at peace with their sovereign, would have seemed nothing else than strengthening the established Government. The queen would have found it necessary, with all proper grace, to submit to the influence of the Lords of the Congregation, as she had done in the campaign against Huntly and the punishment of the western Romanists. But now these lords were in arms against their sovereign, and to support them would be countenancing a principle for which Elizabeth had a despot's thorough detestation. When the lords, therefore, applied to her for an army of three thousand men and a fleet, they received no answer. At the same time, if it could be done with propriety and safety, it was extremely desirable that Murray and his party should be saved from utter extinction. The English representatives, Randolph and Thomworth, gave them encouragement, and raised expectations not to be realised. There has long been

[1] Discours sur la Voyage de Sieur de Castelnau en Escosse; Teulet, ii. 101.

known a characteristic letter from Elizabeth to the Earl of Bedford, Warden of the Marches, which develops with clearness and precision the policy of the English Court on this nice question. If Murray is in such want of money that a thousand pounds will be of service to help him to defend himself, it may be conveyed to him as from Bedford himself. As to armed assistance, she had "no intention, for many respects, to maintain any other prince's subjects to take arms against their sovereign;" but in this instance there were to be diplomatic representations made, not only by herself, but by the French ambassador, that Murray and his friends might have a fair trial and a just and merciful consideration—that they were not then in a position to levy actual war, but were in reality offering to submit themselves as good subjects, and were only defending themselves from extermination. The matter being viewed in this light, Bedford might secretly gather a small force by way of strengthening the garrison of Carlisle, as a Scots army was about to approach the border. If he found he could make this force effectual for the protection of the lords, he might then, at the critical moment, move on Dumfries.[1]

It would appear that English money in some shape and to some amount was given to the disaffected lords in Scotland. Randolph, charged with giving 3000 crowns to the rebels, and protesting that he never had the fourth of that sum at his disposal, was ordered to leave Edinburgh. He fidgeted and demurred, demanding an audience, and took exception to the passport sent to him as signed by Darnley. He thought well to pass out of Scots ground and sojourn in Berwick. There he saw indications of preparation for the rush that used instantly to announce war—the breaking loose of the Scots borderers upon English ground, now after long restraints likely to be a productive field for plunder. He speaks of war as desirable, and the adviser of the Queen of England thought it so imminent as to prepare instructions for a feudal muster in the north, for strengthening the garrison at Berwick, and "that all the

[1] Robertson, Appendix, xiv. Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 458

wardens put their frontiers in order with speed to serve at an hour's notice."[1]

As a key to the significance of these events, and especially of Elizabeth's share in them, it is necessary to remember that the cause of the old religion had received at that juncture a great impulse in Europe, which had not yet been met by a reaction. There was good ground to apprehend that France and Spain were to abandon their rivalry, and, with the guidance and temporal aid of the Supreme Pontiff, to enter on an alliance to crush heresy wherever they could find it. Scotland, the Italian states, and the Romanist states of Germany, were converging to the same centre of action. The French Huguenots felt the peril which afterwards drove them into civil war, but were not yet prepared to act. In the north of England a large body of Romanists were restless and expectant. The Scots queen, by declining to accept of the treaty of Edinburgh, adhered to her claim on the English throne; and the Catholic powers, leagued as they were together, would seize it for her if they could. A letter of private information by the French ambassador De Foix to Catherine of Medici, dated 29th September 1565, in its calm and guarded estimate of Queen Elizabeth's position, gives a lively notion of the dangers of the juncture. He is of opinion that Queen Elizabeth cannot give any assistance to the rebel lords; she has enough to do to protect herself. Though he has heard that Queen Mary made the idle boast that she would march at the head of her army until it reached London, he gives it as his own mature opinion that she will not venture to cross the border. But then the council which Elizabeth had summoned, separated, not without a suspicion that some favoured the claim of Queen Mary. The Lords of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland were summoned to Court, that they might be delivered from the temptation of joining Queen Mary's army if it crossed the border. To these symptoms —which to the Frenchman were matters not of alarm but of study—was added the news that the great O'Neil—

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 1565, p. 386; 1566, p. 27, 28.

whom he calls "Le Grand Honvel"—had taken two of the principal royal fortresses in Ireland in the service of Queen Mary as Queen of Ireland; and that to arrange about this affair, she sent over to him two Highland ambassadors—gentlemen "du pais des sauvages d'Ecosses"—who could speak his language.[1]

The juncture was one of imminent peril to the liberties and the Protestantism of England. Elizabeth dared not quarrel with any of the powers which looked on England with silent menace, and she found it absolutely necessary to propitiate them, each in its turn. She was not in a position to attack the Queen of Scots. She was especially anxious to retain the amity of France, and professed even to encourage a proposal for becoming the wife of the young king. Both the Spanish and French ambassadors at her Court dropped ominous hints of suspicion that she was secretly aiding the Protestant lords of Scotland in rebellion against their sovereign. So pressed, Elizabeth did not hesitate to cast them off, and succeeded in doing so with flagrant publicity. Murray and the Commendator of Kilwinning went to London to plead the common cause. They were received, no doubt by prearrangement, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, where, to their amazement, they encountered a hearty scolding for their audacity, rebels and traitors as they were to their legitimate sovereign, in appearing before her, a sovereign too. She demanded of them a declaration that she had never given them any countenance in their traitorous resistance. Murray knew very well that if he attempted to thwart her, he was ruined for ever. He deemed it the wiser policy—and the result showed him to be right—to play into Elizabeth's game, and clear her of suspicion. The reward of the sacrifice had to be patiently waited for.

In tracing the direct effect on Scotland of the impulse given to Romanism abroad at that time, it is convenient to look at events occurring in the remote French town of Bayonne, on the Spanish frontier. Catherine of Medici had repeatedly expressed an eager desire to have a per-

[1] Teulet, ii. 85.

sonal interview with her son-in-law, King Philip of Spain, and planned a method of accomplishing such a meeting without attracting suspicion to it as a solemn conference, by suggesting that Philip should hold a progress through the north-eastern provinces of his dominions, while she and her son held a like progress in the south of France. Each might then step a short way aside, and meet, as it were, by a fortunate casualty. Such a progress Catherine and her son made in the beginning of the year 1565, passing deliberately from town to town with great pomp and splendour, and slowly approaching the Spanish frontier. Catherine's daughter, the Queen of Spain, went dutifully to Bayonne to meet her mother. Philip himself did not join them, but he sent one well fitted to represent him—his destroying general, Alva. From his recently-discovered letters we have his own account of the secret conclaves to which the two dark spirits retired from the ostensible gaieties of the royal meeting. They soon found that, though each was unscrupulous, their aims were not in unison. Philip had one single object before him—the Church, of which he had become the sworn champion. For the Church, but for the Church alone, and for nothing else in this world, he was prepared to plunder and torture and forswear himself—to do anything required. It was not external conformity that, like politic and worldly princes, he looked to, but sincere faith and true belief. He therefore, instead of waiting till it made itself visible, tried to find heresy wherever it lurked, that he might extirpate it by fire, axe, and cord; believing that whatever cruelties brought the victim to orthodoxy, and consequently to salvation, were, in a higher estimate than that of the world, acts of beneficence; and that if the cruelty failed to convert, it accomplished the next best thing, by destroying the earthly tabernacle of heresy.

In this spirit Alva addressed the Italian, demanding of her why heresy was not extirpated in France. When he was told of the strength of the Huguenot party, he considered its existence all the greater a scandal. Not only could he see no reason why greatness and power should save any one from the destruction that was his due, but

he flung it as a reproach on the Government of France that there were princes of the blood and heads of the first houses favourable to the heretics, and the very chancellor himself was a Huguenot. It was put as an immediate practical measure of a modified kind, that France should expel the Huguenot clergy and exact conformity, or should, as an alternative, try to strike terror by cutting off some five or six of the principal heads. The Italian tried her diplomatic art by suggesting some royal marriages advantageous to both countries, and hinting that, if these were brought to a satisfactory conclusion, France might join Spain in the good work of extirpation; but these suggestions were haughtily checked as evidence that France had not her heart in the cause, since, instead of going straight to the good work, she made it a matter of policy, and indeed sought a bribe. The subtle Montluc, who was present, agreed in opinion that it would have been better had the right course been taken in time, and before the political power acquired by the Huguenots had rendered its adoption precarious; but he pledged himself that the queen was thoroughly sincere, and would rather be cut in two than become Huguenot. Alva, however, was dissatisfied and disappointed, though the Frenchmen whom he met, especially the Cardinal of Guise, gave him thorough sympathy.[1]

The object of Philip II. in this famous conference was known at the time—probably through the active emissaries of the Huguenots. It was not known that his proffers met a cold return, and naturally the subsequent massacre of St Bartholomew was set down as the consummation of a plot then prepared. Famianus Strada, the great Romanist historian, the only person who professed to know something about the conference from an authentic source—a letter about it from Philip II. to the Duchess of Parma, his sister—rather confirmed this notion by saying drily, that whether the massacre was planned on this

[1] Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle, ix. 312-324. See also Wiesener, 'Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell,' p. 86, and his reference to the letter of the Bishop of Mondovi in Labanoff, vii. 107.

occasion he has no means of asserting or denying, but he rather thinks it was.[1]

The impression at the time was that a special religious league had been contracted between the two powers. The foolish young King of France was supposed to reveal the secret by the looks and words which he cast at the Protestant leaders. His savage nature seems to have been roused by the persuasion of the Spaniards, which his wily mother heard impassively. It went forth that he deeply pondered on a metaphor of Alva's, that one salmon was worth a multitude of frogs, as illustrating the view that the more effective and economic method of suppressing heresy was to cut off the heads of the party by some sudden stroke, rather than to fight out the question in controversies and battles. The Huguenot leaders, thoroughly frightened for their heads, and knowing that the tempting moment for a stroke or *coup* was when they were assembled in council or near each other, separated as far apart as they could, each occupying and fortifying one of his own strongholds.

These Huguenots communicated their peril to the Protestants of Scotland, who in their turn believed that Mary had joined the league. So early as the summer of 1562, Throckmorton in Paris had warned his mistress that there was to be a confederacy of princes, including Spain, the Papal States of Germany, Italy, and Portugal, and that "the Cardinal of Lorraine sends to the Queen of Scots to enter the same—which is called The Catholic League—but not to make any appearance thereof."[2] At the period we have reached, a French envoy, who brought the insignia of the order of the Saint Esprit to be conferred on Darnley, was believed to have brought the league for Mary's signature, and to have obtained it.[3] Randolph wrote to Cecil in February 1566: "There was a band lately devised, in which the late Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, with other princes of Italy and the queen-mother, were suspected to be of the same con-

[1] De Bello Belgico, lib. iv.
[2] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 193.
[3] Tytler, vii. 15.

federacy to maintain Papistry throughout Christendom. This band was sent out of France by Thornton, and is subscribed by this queen."[1] If such a bond existed, the French Government was no party to it. But whether in the form of a bond or not, beyond doubt Mary was the close ally of the King of Spain in all his formidable views and projects for crushing the new religion.

Indeed the state paper which reveals the true history of the conference at Bayonne is followed by a letter from Alva, undated, but seemingly also written from Bayonne, in which he explains to his master the manner of his carrying out the policy he was authorised to use towards Scotland. At the solicitation, he says, of the Cardinal of Guise, he gave audience to an envoy from the Queen of Scots. That envoy told him there would certainly be a revolution in England, and he desired to know what course his mistress ought to adopt. That, he was told, would depend on the strength of parties. Mary must in the mean time conduct herself not merely with reserve, but dissimulation towards Elizabeth. If she conducted herself to the satisfaction of the King of Spain, he would bring to her such aid, at the time when it was least expected, that she would certainly accomplish her object. Here was laid the scheme of the Armada which was designed to place Mary on the English throne, and restore with her the old religion. By the signal tardiness of its projector it was cast forward into a later historical period, when all the conditions on which it depended for success had passed away. It is remarkable that Alva pressed on the envoy the necessity of keeping this intimation a dead secret even from the Guises; for, once in their possession, Catherine of Medici might get at it. The envoy, whose name is not mentioned, enchanted with the brilliant prospect, sent his brother to Scotland to tell the happy news.[2]

But at this time events fast following upon each other cleared away alike the hopes and the fears that Scotland

[1] Wright's Queen Elizabeth, i. 219.
[2] Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle, ix. 329.

was to prove the means of subduing the British Isles to the dominion of the old Church. The period during which the marriage of Mary and Darnley had the aspect of a happy union was short. If there had not been worse qualities in either of them, there was an utter incompatibility. The wife had great genius and sagacity; the husband was a fool, and a vicious and presumptuous fool. There is scarcely to be found in his character the vestige of a good quality. The resources of his power and rank seem to have been considered by him only as elements of animal enjoyment, and of a vainglorious assumption of superiority. He indulged in every vicious appetite to the extent of his physical capacity; he surrounded himself with all manner of costly luxuries, over-ate himself, and drank hard. He did his wife that wrong which to a woman who retains the smallest remnant of attachment is the sorest of all. His amours were notorious and disgusting, and they had not the courtly polish which would entitle them to the compromising designation of intrigues; for he broke the seventh commandment with the most dissolute and degraded, because they were on that account the most accessible, of their sex. Such is a general summary of the character and habits which appear in those numerous accusations by his contemporaries, from which no one seems to have thought of vindicating his memory.[1] Without any ambition to govern, he was haughty and supercilious to a pitch that drove the proud Scots nobility rabid; and in his irritable or drunken fits he could not restrain his hand from the blow, inflicting on fierce and vindictive men the insult never to be forgiven.

Apart from her own injuries as a wife, the queen had too much natural good taste, and was too thorough an adept in the court polish of Italy and France, to tolerate vice in such a form as this. Not many weeks of their married life seem to have passed before coldness appeared, and it soon deepened through estrangement into enmity.

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[1] The philippic of Buchanan, which must be dealt with afterwards, may be thought an exception; but there the faint praise is put in for artistic effect.

Their domestic bickerings became offensively notorious. Darnley ostensibly fixed his quarrel on her in the shape of a complaint that she had promised him the crown-matrimonial, and had afterwards refused to take any steps for accomplishing this promise. In his foolish passion he offered violence to the high officer of the law who brought him the disappointing intelligence that he was unsuccessful. How this expression "crown-matrimonial" came into use, and what it meant, have already been referred to as difficulties arising out of the schemes of the Guises. A French politician is the best interpreter of the term; and we find Mauvissière saying that, in the case of Mary's death, it would have passed the crown to her husband entirely, and then to his heirs. If this arrangement were absolute, then a daughter by Mary might have been superseded by a son born to a subsequent wife; but whether it went thus far or not, it was one of the matters in which the Hamilton family had the chief interest, and probably through their influence it was that the claim was defeated.

On the 24th February 1566 there was a marriage-ceremony, which would not have belonged to history but for after-events. Bothwell was then married to the Lady Jane Gordon, a daughter of the Earl of Huntly. This was made a Court affair, and there was a royal banqueting for five days. The queen took an interest in the lady, and specially bequeathed to her some jewels. She belonged to the old Church, and it is said in Knox's History that "the queen desired that the marriage might be made in the Royal Chapel at the mass, which the Earl of Bothwell would in nowise grant." But he could not obviate the possible interference of Popish influence on the union in another and more serious shape. From what we have seen of the condition of the law of marriage before the Reformation, it would have been an exception to the ordinary conditions could such a marriage be valid without dispensation. A Papal dispensation therefore was obtained as a precaution should the question of the validity of the marriage come to be tried by the canon law as administered by the old Church. We shall see that this

dispensation has a curious and significant episodical history of its own.

The interest taken by Queen Mary in this marriage has been pitted against the many presumptions that her heart then belonged to Bothwell. But experience in poor human nature teaches us that people terrified by the pressure of temptation do sometimes set up barriers against it which they afterwards make frantic efforts to get over. In the natural course of things a crisis was now at hand; for the Parliament was to meet on 4th March 1566, and the great question was, whether Murray and his exiled companions would appear there and fight their own battle, or would stay away and be to a certainty outlawed, and stripped of every dignity and every acre of their possessions.

The spies of Queen Elizabeth were in sore perplexity, watching the shadows of coming events; and their correspondence has the tone of men labouring under a weighty consciousness that terrible explosions are coming, yet without any certain indication when or in what form they may be expected. This correspondence is very interesting and suggestive, if we take its general tone; but, written without that distinct knowledge of the mighty projects of the inscrutable King of Spain, which were at the back of all that was doing in Scotland, the letters do not throw a steady and distinct light on the causes of what followed, and indeed contain so many rumours and predictions—some of which were fulfilled, while others were not—that the advocate of almost any historical theory about subsequent events is apt to find among them something temptingly calculated to support his views.[1] We

[1] Many of the rumours wafted out of Scotland at this critical juncture are oracularly equivocal, and even when they predict violence or death, they might be supposed to refer to a conflict and its casualties. The following letter, written by Randolph on the 18th of February, has, especially in the concluding sentence, the merit of distinctness. "I know now for certain that this queen repenteth her marriage—that she hateth him and all his kin. I know that he knoweth himself that he hath a partaker in play and game with him. I know that there are practices in hand contrived between the father and son to come by the crown against her will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the king,

hear that Darnley is in danger of his life: so is Rizzio; so is the queen herself; so is Murray, who is said to be, unfortunately for his own safety, in possession of a secret involving his sister's fair fame. In one significant affair we can depend on these newswriters, because it was not a guess or prognostication, but a matter of fact passing before their eyes; and also because, although subsequent events confer a momentous import on it, yet it was looked on as but an ordinary matter at the time. Bothwell, whether for public or private reasons, was rising high in the queen's favour, and beginning to wield an influence in rivalry of the king's. "This also," says Randolph, "shall not be unknown to you, what quarrels there are already risen between her and her husband: she to have her will one way, and he another; he to have his father lieutenant-general, and she the Earl of Bothwell; he to have this man preferred, and she another."[1]

But another actor in the great tragedy was to precede him. The Italian was daily becoming more offensive; and, utterly unconscious of his position, he flaunted before the eyes that looked murder on him, giving himself many arrogant airs, decorating his person extravagantly, and dealing offence in the very state and rank betokened by his costume. He seems to have felt no fear, and even to have disdained some friendly warnings. He was sure of the favour of the queen, and he was not accustomed to governments in which those who are well with the supreme power need be afraid of what subjects can do. His thorough and almost exclusive knowledge of the great secrets between his mistress and the King of Spain very probably added to his arrogance; and a dim consciousness that he was working at Popish intrigues made him all the more dangerous and odious to the Protestant party. The miscellaneous circle of enemies who aggregated round the poor man secured the aid of Darnley by the most powerful of motives—he became, or he was made, jealous of the

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shall have his throat cut within these 10 days."—Letters in Maitland, Narrative.

[1] Raumer, 69. See this referred to by Mauvissière, in Teulet, ii. 99.

Italian, and coarsely expressed his suspicion that he and the queen were too intimate. Mary, no doubt, held him in her usual chains; for she seems to have been incapable of holding converse with any one of the male sex without setting her apparatus of fascination at work. Farther than this she is not likely to have gone; but the ugly stories that long prevailed are aptly attested by the saying attributed to Henry IV., that King James's title to be called the Modern Solomon was, doubtless, that he was the son of David who performed upon the harp. The revolting paternity tainted the controversies of her son's reign, and indeed was a jest before he was born.[1] But we can feel that in its nature it has none of the fundamental credibility that influences other charges laid against the same character. It is in some measure with the written gossip of history as with the tattle of society. Things are said in the fury of an election or under the temptations that assail the habitual jester, and the sedate onlooker who weighs them knows that they are not true. Even so we may say of this charge against Queen Mary, as well as of the cruel stories that beset the early life of Queen Elizabeth.

It was settled that the man should be put to death, and that before the great parliamentary contest about the exiled lords came on. A band or bond was entered into, according to the old practice in Scotland, in which those concerned owned their responsibility for the deed, and their resolution to stand by each other. It was absolutely necessary to have a hold like this on so slippery a person as Darnley, whom no one trusted. Or as Ruthven puts it, "They, considering he was a young prince, and having a lusty princess to lie in his arms afterwards, who might persuade him to deny all that was done for his cause, and to allege that others persuaded him to the same, thought it necessary to have security thereupon." It is worthy of remark that the bond contemplates more than one victim, the whole being described as "certain privy persons,

[1] In a letter to Leicester of 29th June, Randolph, anticipating offspring, says, "Woe is me for you when David's sone shal be a Kyng of England!"—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 13.

wicked and ungodly, not regarding her majesty's honour, ours, nor the nobility thereof, nor the common weal of the same, but seeking their own commodity and privy gains, especially a stranger Italian called Davie," whom they mutually engage to punish according to their demerits; "and, in case of any difficulty, to cut them off immediately, and to take and slay them wherever it happeneth." If any of the banders should get in trouble for doing so, Darnley stipulates to fortify and maintain them to the utmost of his power, "and shall be friends to their friends, and enemies to their enemies." The document, drawn by a skilful lawyer, ends with a specific clause that, "because it may chance to be done in presence of the queen's majesty, or within her palace of Holyrood House, we, by the word of a prince, shall accept and take the same on us now as then, and then as now; and shall warrant and keep harmless the foresaid earls, lords, barons, freeholders, gentlemen, merchants, and craftsmen to our utter power. In witness whereof, we have subscribed this with our own hand at Edinburgh the 1st of March 1565-66."[1]

Darnley's side of the bond has been preserved, but not the other, so that we do not know with certainty who all were concerned in the plot. On the 6th, Bedford and Randolph thus intimated to Cecil that it was presently to come off: "Somewhat, we are sure, you have heard of divers disorders and jeers between this queen and her husband, partly for that she hath refused him the crown-matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which, if it were not over-well known, we would both be very loath to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander, he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is. We need not more plainly to describe the person—you have heard of the man we mean of."[2]

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[1] Ruthven's Relation.

[2] Tytler, vii. 25.

There was at the same time another bond, involving ostensibly much larger political adjustments, in which Darnley was on one side. Those on the other side were in the same interest with the banders against Rizzio, but there is no evidence that they were exactly the same persons; and, indeed, it might be supposed that they were persons of too much dignity and seriousness of character to entertain a proposal for the murder of a minion. If we may believe Ruthven's account of the origin of this band, when Darnley besought him to get Rizzio disposed of, he protested that he would have nothing to do with the matter unless Darnley would bind himself to "bring home" Murray and the others, "who were banished only for the Word of God," as Ruthven put it. Darnley, to carry his point, agreed to the terms. "After long reasoning and divers days' travailling, the king was contented that they should come home into the realm of Scotland, so that the said Lord Ruthven would make him sure that they would be his, and set forward all his affairs. The said lord gave answer to the king, and bade him make his own security, and that he should cause it to be subscribed by the aforesaid earls, lords, and barons." The title of the formal document they subscribed is instructive. It is called, "Certain Articles to be fulfilled by James, Earl of Murray; Archibald, Earl of Argyle; Alexander, Earl of Glencairn; Andrew, Earl of Rothes; Robert, Lord Boyd; Andrew, Lord Ochiltree; and their complices—to the Noble and Mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland." The subscribers bound themselves to "take a loyal and true part with the said noble prince in all his actions, causes, and quarrels, against whomsoever, to the utmost of their powers; and shall be friends to his friends and enemies to his enemies, and neither spare their lives, lands, goods, nor possessions." They specially undertake to do their best in Parliament to secure for him the crown-matrimonial, and promise their interest to obtain for him the friendship of Queen Elizabeth and the relief of his mother and brother from detention by her. Darnley, on the other hand, engages to do his best to protect the exiled lords from punishment, and to restore to them their

estates and dignities. Nothing is trusted to generalities, but the course he is to adopt is set forth with specific distinctness by some able conveyancer — probably Balfour, who afterwards drew another band in which Darnley was concerned, but to which he was no party. He was not to suffer any forfeitures to pass against them, nor to let them be accused in Parliament, and, if need be, was even to prevent the holding of a Parliament; and if he succeeded in obtaining the crown-matrimonial, he was then to use his prerogative in their favour. The safety of the Protestant religion—the really important part of the arrangement — is provided for, with a curious circumlocuitous shyness, as "the religion which was established by the queen's majesty our sovereign shortly after her arrival in this realm, whereupon acts and proclamation were made, and now again granted by the said noble prince to the said earls, lords, and their complices."[1]

Thus had the Protestant cause received a new and unexpected ally. Mary says afterwards, in a letter to her councillor, Archbishop Beaton, that the arrangement was kept a dead secret from her, and that she was unconsciously arranging for her Parliament, "the spiritual estate being placed therein in the ancient manner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the auld religion, and to have proceeded against our rebels according to their demerits."[2] All was now ready for the blow. The Parliament assembled, the exiled lords were on their way back, and the time and method of disposing of the Italian were adjusted.[3]

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[1] Ruthven's Relation. [2] Labanoff, i. 342.

[3] The account of its execution I propose to take from three sources: first, the queen's own statement, sent to her faithful adviser, Archbishop Beaton. Second, a state paper drawn up by the Earl of Bedford and Randolph for the information of the Privy Council of England. It is the fruit of inquiries made of the actors themselves after they had taken refuge in England, and from other sources, the whole being sifted and examined with the practical acuteness with which the authors of the paper were so amply endowed. The third is a narrative professing to have been written by Lord Ruthven, the chief actor in the affair. All the three correspond with a precision un-

On the 9th of March, Morton, the chancellor, commanded the force who were to act—about a hundred and fifty men. Having the king with him, he got possession, silently and without contest, of the great gate and the various outlets of the Palace of Holyrood, so as to make prisoners all within it. A considerable part of his force seems to have been stationed in the royal audience-chamber down-stairs. From this Darnley brought some of them into his own chamber, whence he ascended, by a secret stair, to the queen's apartments, showing Ruthven, who was to follow, the way. It was seven o'clock. Darnley had supped early, to prepare for work. The queen, who had two chambers entering to each other, was in the inner, called the cabinet, twelve feet square. She was seated at a small table on a couch, or "low reposing-bed," as Bedford and Randolph call it, with the Lady Argyle and Rizzio, who sat, as it was noted, with his cap on; and this sight was perhaps the more offensive that a few Scotsmen of good rank—her brother the Commendator of Holyrood House, Arthur Erskine, the Laird of Creech, and others attached to the household—seem to have been in attendance as domestics, while "Signor Davie" sat with his cap on. He was clothed in "a nightgown of damask, furred, with a satin doublet and hose of russet velvet." The little party seem to have been unconscious of anything unusual, until after Darnley, who put his arm round his wife's waist and chatted with her kindly, was followed by the grim Ruthven, who had risen haggard from a sick-bed, and required to be helped up-stairs, though he was clad and armed more suitably for a foray than a queen's cabinet.

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common in the accounts of exciting events; but the third is the most minute in its detail, and the most practical and lifelike throughout. See Letters, Queen Mary to Archbishop Beaton—Labanoff, i. 341; the Earl of Bedford and Randolph to the Council of England—Wright's Queen Elizabeth, i. 226; and 'A Relation of the Death of David Rizzio, chief favourite to Mary, Queen of Scotland, who was killed in the apartment of the said Queen on 9th of March 1565-66; written by the Lord Ruthven, one of the principal persons concerned in that action.' Printed in 1699, and reprinted in Scotia Rediviva, 1826. It is also in the Appendix to Keith, book ii. No. xi., and in Triphook's Miscellanea Antiqua, 1814.

He told his business forthwith. "It would please your majesty to let yonder man Davie come furth of your presence, for he hath been over long there." Then there was a sharp dialogue, in which, as in all the dialogues even reported by an opposite party, the queen appears to have held her own. She wanted to know why her servant should be demanded. She was at last told, in terms sufficiently suggestive, if not quite explicit.

"It will please your majesty, he hath offended your majesty's honour, which I dare not be so bold as speak of. As to the king your husband's honour, he hath hindered him of the crown-matrimonial, which your grace promised him, besides many other things which are not necessary to be expressed. And as to the nobility, he hath caused your majesty to banish a great part, and the most chief thereof, and forefault them at this present Parliament, that he might be made a lord;" and so he passed to particulars. He then tells how, when he had finished, the queen rose up. She stood before the recess of a window. The Italian drew his hanger mechanically, as it appears, with no spirit to defend himself; for he seems to have read his doom in the face of the intruder, and he crouched behind his mistress, clutching at the folds of her gown. Ruthven was alone all this time, and nothing had occurred to tell the inmates of the cabinet that there were others at hand. As Ruthven was palpably rude, the attendants laid hands on him; but he shook them off fiercely, drawing his hanger and saying, "Lay not hands on me, for I will not be handled!" and as he spoke others rushed in, filling the small apartment, and upsetting the supper-table with the candles on it. The Lady Argyle snatched up one of the candles, and preserved the group from darkness. There was some rough scuffling ere the wretch could be torn from his clutch of the queen's gown; and she declared that a hanger was thrust at David over her shoulder, and a hackbut or pistol held as if aimed at herself. In the end, Ruthven took the queen and placed her in her husband's arms, telling her not to be afraid—they would sooner spend their own hearts' blood than she should suffer harm, and they were doing but the bidding

of her own husband. So they passed her, and dragged the trembling wretch out of the recess of the window. It had been their intention to take him to Darnley's chamber, there to hold a sort of court of judgment on him, and afterwards hang him; but in the press and confusion he was hurled into the queen's "utter chamber" or anteroom, and the crowd of enemies about him "were so vehemently moved against the said Davie that they could not abide any longer." All that could get near enough stabbed him, until "they slew him at the queen's far door in the utter chamber." The body was hurled down-stairs to the porter's lodge, where the porter's assistant, stripping off the fine clothes as it lay on a chest, said,—"This has been his destiny; for upon this chest was his first bed when he entered into the place, and now here he lieth again, a very ingrate and misknown knave."

Those great officers who had apartments within the precincts of the palace, including Bothwell, Huntly, and Athole, were naturally surprised and angry at the presence of the large addition unexpectedly made to the armed inmates of the palace; and there was likely to be a contest between their followers and the followers of the conspirators. Darnley intervened and kept peace, owning the strangers as his own men; and there was much rapid talk, with explanations and some professions of reconciliation, in the crowd of men—several of them at feud with each other—who had been so singularly brought together. Very few on either side seem to have yet known of the slaughter. A body of the townspeople, armed, and headed by the provost, hearing that there was turbulence and drawing of swords in the palace, hurried thither; but, assured by Darnley that the queen and he were uninjured, and all was right, they went their way, also ignorant of the tragedy of the night. While these things were going on, Ruthven and Darnley were back in the queen's cabinet, talking to her; and she also was ignorant of her favourite's fate. Ruthven, indeed, assured her that he was safe, and for the time in her husband's apartment, where he supposed the body to be safe in his own sense of the word. The queen uneasily observed the absence of her husband's

hanger. It was left sticking ostentatiously in the Italian's body, as a testimony whose deed the slaughter was; but she professed to be satisfied that nothing more had taken place but what she had seen, and then began a wordy war between the husband and wife.

He charged her with the change in her ways towards him "since yon fellow Davie fell in credit and familiarity" with her. Especially she used of old to seek him in his chamber; and now, even if he came to hers, there was little entertainment for him there, save so far as Davie might be the third with them; and then they set to cards, and played on till one or two of the clock after midnight—late hours certainly for that age.[1] To this she made answer with her usual felicity, that "it was not gentlewomen's duty to come to their husband's chamber, but rather the husband to come to the wife's chamber, if he had anything to do with her." He rejoined, like a petulant boy, "How came ye to my chamber at the beginning, and ever till within these few months that Davie fell in familiarity with you? Or am I failed in any part of my body? Or what disdain have you at me? Or what offence have I made you, that you should not use me at all times alike, seeing that I am willing to do all things that becometh a good husband to do to his wife?" These words recalled the outrage that had just taken place, and were followed by a little outburst from her, very remarkable when contrasted with the tone we shall find her taking when she knew that her favourite had been actually put to death. "Her majesty answered and said, That all the shame that was done to her, that, my lord, ye have the weight [blame] thereof; for the which I shall never be your wife, nor lie with you, nor shall never like well till I gar you have as sore a heart as I have presently."

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[1] That the card-playing was an item of Court gossip appears in a letter from Randolph to Cecil of 25th December 1565: "The queen's husband never gave greater token of his religion than that this last night he was at matins and mass in the morning before day, and heard high mass devoutly upon his knees; though she herself the most part of the night sat up at cards, and went to bed when it was almost day." —Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 541.

Here Ruthven interposed with good-humour, recommending the queen to take a sensible view of things, be reconciled with her husband, and with him follow the advice of good friends. Exhausted apparently by this effort, a little scene follows, which must be told in his own words. "The said lord being so feebled with his sickness, and wearied with his travel, that he desired her majesty's pleasure to sit down upon a coffer, and called for a drink for God's sake; so a Frenchman brought him a cup of wine." His interruption of the matrimonial colloquy, and his insolent familiarity, turned the storm upon himself; and he says that, "after he had drunken, the queen's majesty began to rail against the said lord." She alluded to her position, having been six months pregnant, and said that if she died, or her child, in consequence of what had been done, she was not without friends capable of revenging her. There was the King of Spain, the Emperor, the King of France, and her uncles, not to speak of his holiness the Pope. Ruthven answered, with grave sarcasm, "that these noble princes were over-great personages to meddle with such a poor man as he was, being her majesty's own subject." Then there was a partly political discussion, in which Ruthven maintained that the queen had abandoned her constitutional advisers, and sought counsel of the Italian and other strangers, who taught her to set her own abitrary power above the Estates; that she had especially interfered to name the Lords of the Articles in the ensuing Parliament, for the purpose of securely crushing her brother Murray and the other exiled lords. It is observable that, while this brisk dialogue went on, not a word came from Darnley, though Ruthven appealed to him. At last he observed that the queen was tired, and advised her husband to bid her farewell. She was left with certain attendants who could be trusted, and Ruthven kept charge of Darnley, with whom he had business still to transact. Ere they separated two proclamations were adjusted, to be issued next day by Darnley as king. The one called a muster of the well-affected inhabitants of Edinburgh, who were to keep ward in the streets, "and to suffer none others to be seen out of their houses, except

Protestants, under all highest pain and charge that after may follow." The other proclamation discharged or dissolved the Parliament, requiring all the members to leave Edinburgh within three hours, save such as the king might specially require to remain. Having adjusted these matters to his satisfaction, we are told that, "the gates being locked, the king being in his bed, the queen's majesty walking in her chamber, the said Lord Ruthven took air upon the lower gate and the privy passages." One other event, however, happened in the night, not so propitious as those which preceded it. Bothwell and Huntly managed to make their escape; and, from Mary's own account of the matter, it would seem that they had contrived to establish a communication with her, engaging to relieve her from without, or to help her to escape.[1]

The great affair of next day, which was Sunday, was the arrival of the banished lords, who reached Edinburgh about seven o'clock in the evening.[2] Thus were they on the spot to profit by the recent tragedy without having defiled themselves with it. There can be little doubt that they were prepared for it. Among the many scraps of paper which contain merely the rumours of the day, Murray is set down in some as a contriver in the plot. There is no sufficient evidence that he was so, and such a thing is not consistent with his steady, careful, decorous walk in life. That, knowing it was likely to take place without throwing any responsibility on him, he should have gone out of his way to hinder it, was beyond the human nature of his age. The name of Knox, too, is to be found on these lists. It is still less likely, however, that he should have compromised his position as a minister of the Word by either executing or plotting an assassination. Whether, knowing that it was to be done, he would have interrupted it, or

[1] Labanoff, i. 348.

[2] An accurate announcement by the English ambassadors to friends in England, dated 8th March, proved precisely accurate: "The Earl of Murray is written for and his whole company. They will be on Monday night at Edinburgh, but that which is intended shall be executed before his coming on him whom Cecil knows."—Bedford and Randolph to Leicester and Cecil. Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 29.

would have bidden the perpetrators God-speed, is an idle question, since, with his usual candour, he has left in his History his thorough approval of the deed. Moralising on the fallen condition of the conspirators afterwards, when they became fugitives, he utters a warning against supposing that they are deserted of God, who may yet raise them up again to His glory and their comfort. "And to let the world understand in plain terms what we mean, that great abuser of this commonwealth, that poltroon and vile knave Davie, was justly punished on the 9th of March, in the year of God one thousand five hundred threescore five [six], for abusing of the commonwealth, and for his other villany, which we list not to express, by the counsel and hands of James Douglas, Earl of Morton, Patrick, Lord Lindsay, and the Lord Ruthven, with others assisters of their company, who all, for their just act, and most worthy of all praise, are now unworthily left of their brethren, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exile."[1] Much of the accusation and defence wasted on the characters of that age arises from the supposition that, like a well-principled citizen of the present day, any one hearing of an intended crime was expected to go and inform the police. People in the public world had too much anxiety about themselves to think of others, and only the strongest personal motive would prompt one to interfere with any act of violence. An attempt to thwart a crime by which his cause would profit, might have justly exposed a man to the charge of insanity or gross duplicity.

Sunday the 10th was a busy and anxious day at the palace. At what time the queen heard of Rizzio's death is not certain; it must have been pretty near the time when she also heard that the banished lords were to arrive.[2] It

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[1] Knox, i. 235.

[2] The question when and how the queen knew of Rizzio's death seems to be of great moment, in its bearing on the evidence against her for the murder which followed. It is quite clear that Rizzio was not, as is generally supposed, slain before her face. In Bedford and Randolph's narrative it is said distinctly, "He was not slain in the queen's presence, as was said, but going down the stairs out of the chamber of presence." In her own narrative sent to her faithful coun-

is certain, however, that she at once altered her tone to Darnley. She resolved on luring him back, along with such of the other enemies surrounding her as she could win over. With her foolish husband she accomplished her purpose with the ease of a great artist; the others seem to have kept themselves beyond the magic circle. It was part of her policy to make him think she believed in his absurd protestations that he had no concern in her favourite's death. The day was spent by Darnley in vibrating between the two parties—coming from the queen to de-

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cillor, Archbishop Beaton, she says, "The said Lord Ruthven perforce invaded him in our presence (he then for refuge took safeguard, having retired him behind our back), and with his complices cast down our table upon himself, put violent hands on him, struck him over our shoulders with whinyards, one part of them standing before our face with bended dags, most cruelly took him furth of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber gave him fifty-six strokes with whinyards and swords." This tends to confirm Ruthven's narrative, by showing that Rizzio was taken alive out of the cabinet and killed in the anteroom. It is not a necessary inference that he was wounded, though she says they struck him over her shoulder with whinyards; their object, undoubtedly, was to get him out of the queen's presence in the first place. In the queen's short account of her controversy with Ruthven, when speaking of Rizzio, she says, "whom they had actually put to death." If this stood alone, it might be doubtful whether she mentions that as a fact merely which she might afterwards have known, or states that she was told it at the time by Ruthven. In the narrative of Bedford and Randolph, who were undoubted masters of all the facts, it is stated that, in her conversation with Ruthven and her husband, the queen spoke for Rizzio's safety partly in entreaties, partly in threats, saying, "Well, it shall be dear blood to some of you if his be spilt." In whichever sense it be taken, this explanation is further proof that she did not see him slain (see the letter in Labanoff, i. 344, 345). Spottiswoode (p. 195) gives the following distinct account of her acquaintance with the end: "The queen, bursting forth in many tears after a great tiding she kept with the Lord Ruthven, sent one of her maids to inquire what was become of Davie, who quickly returning, told that he was killed: having asked her how she knew it, the maid answered that she had seen him dead. Then the queen, wiping her eyes with her handkerchief, said, '*No more tears—I will think upon a revenge.*' Neither was she seen after that any more to lament." For this account, accepted in several quarters, I am aware of no better authority than Spottiswoode's mere statement, and the dubious memoirs attributed to Lord Herries. If better vouched, it would be formidable evidence of her intention to work for what afterwards came to pass.

mand concessions for her, getting scolded for his weakness and the peril he was bringing them all into by yielding to her blandishments, and going back fortified against her, to return again as her humble messenger. Early in the day she recovered her women, through whom she communicated with Bothwell, Huntly, and other friends. The alarm was more than once raised that a miscarriage was approaching, and the necessary attendants were summoned; but Ruthven thought he saw under all this a project for her escaping among the miscellaneous throng of women hurrying out and in, and it was regulated, much to the queen's annoyance, that no gentlewoman should pass forth "undismuffled."

It was arranged, as a signal token of reconciliation, that Darnley was to share the queen's couch that night. As men will do, however, when they have got a heavy piece of business satisfactorily through, he took a drowsy fit—probably, too, he was saturated with wine; so he fell dead asleep in his own chamber, and when he awoke too late, scolded those who had failed to break his slumber. Probably the queen did not much regret a new insult which relieved her of a portion of her work of dissimulation. She was next day all smiles and caresses. The meeting with the banished lords cannot be better told than in Ruthven's own words:—

"She took purpose, and came out of the utter chamber, led by the king. The said earls and lords sitting down upon their knees, made their general oration by the Earl of Morton, chancellor, and after their particular orations by themselves. And after that her majesty had heard all, her answer was, that it was not unknown to the lords that she was never bloodthirsty nor greedy upon their lands and goods sithence her coming into Scotland, nor yet would be upon theirs that were present, but would remit the whole number that was banished, or at the last dead, and bury and put all things in oblivion, as if they had never been; and so caused the said lords and barons to arise on their feet. And afterwards her majesty desired them to make their own security in that sort they pleased best, and she should subscribe the same. Thereafter her

majesty took the king by the one hand and the Earl of Murray by the other, and walked in her said upper chamber the space of one hour, and then her majesty passed into her inner chamber."[1]

The desire that they should "make their own security" had reference to a new band appropriate to the occasion, which a skilful conveyancer was in fact at that moment preparing, under the vigilant inspection of the returned exiles, or of the king's party, as they were then—but only for a few hours—named. Soon after six o'clock in the evening the king joined them, or at least their committee, consisting of Murray, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, who handed to him their band of security, ready for his signature and the queen's, "which the king took in hand (as soon as he had supped) to be done." He made a request, however, which inflamed their still slumbering suspicions, by desiring them to remove their own people, and leave the queen in the hands of her proper guard. The lords had been telling Darnley all along, in pretty plain terms, that there was duplicity at work and they were only led on to be betrayed; and at this proposal Ruthven, bursting out in anger, told him that what should follow and what blood be shed should come on his head and that of his posterity, not on theirs. The guards seem not to have been removed; but the lords themselves adjourned to Morton's house to sup—a step attended with risk, yet in which there was a certain policy, because it was expedient that the queen, in whatever she signed, should have as much appearance of free-will as it was safe to allow. After supper they sent Archibald Douglas to see if the queen had subscribed the band. No, she had not; the king said she had read the articles and found them very good, but she was sick and going to bed, and delayed the subscribing until the morning.

About an hour after midnight the queen and Darnley managed, by connivance, to slip out through the wine-cellar. Outside, Arthur Erskine, captain of her guard, met her by

[1] Ruthven's Relation.

arrangement with six or seven mounted followers. The queen seated on a crupper behind Erskine, they all rode straight to Seton House, where the Lord Seton gave them an escort on to Dunbar. The governor of that strong fortress was amazed, early on Tuesday morning, by the arrival of his king and queen, hungry, and clamorous for fresh eggs to breakfast.

CHAPTER XLV.

QUEEN MARY.

(Continued.)

THE CONFEDERATE LORDS AND THEIR DANGER — PROJECTS OF RETALIATION — THE SLAYERS OF RIZZIO SEEK REFUGE IN ENGLAND — A PARLIAMENT — THE FIT OF CONJUGAL ATTACHMENT PASSES — SYMPTOMS OF MARY'S FEELING TOWARDS HER HUSBAND — HE IS AVOIDED, AND BECOMES ALARMED — RISE AND CHARACTER OF BOTHWELL — HIS POWER ON THE BORDERS — CONDITION OF THE BORDERS AT THAT TIME — HIS POWER ON THE SEA — HISTORY OF HIS HOUSE AS RENOWNED FOR ROYAL LOVE-AFFAIRS—WOUNDED IN A BORDER SCUFFLE — THE QUEEN'S RIDE FROM JEDBURGH TO HERMITAGE TO VISIT HIM—BIRTH OF THE PRINCE — PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS BAPTISM — PROJECTS AGAINST DARNLEY MOOTED—DARNLEY'S ILLNESS—THE QUEEN'S NEW PROFESSION OF RECONCILIATION, AND VISIT TO HIM IN GLASGOW — HIS FATHER AND HE AFRAID OF MURDER—HIS OWN EXPRESSIONS ON THE MATTER — DARNLEY BROUGHT TO THE KIRK-OF-FIELD — A BAND FOR PUTTING HIM OUT OF THE WAY—THE PREPARATIONS—THE COMPLETION OF THE MURDER.

THUS the confederate lords rose in the morning to find themselves outwitted and in great danger. They despatched a messenger to Dunbar on the useless errand of procuring that signature to their band which the royal fugitives had neglected to leave. The messenger was detained two days before his message could be delivered, and it was not even honoured with the formality of an answer.

The queen dictated letters pleading her cause and vindicating herself. One letter to Queen Elizabeth has been preserved. It is dated from Dunbar on the 15th of March, and contains this passage: "We thought to have written this letter with our own hand, that ye might have better understood all our meaning, and taken mair familiarly therewith; but of a truth we are so tired and evil at ease, what through riding of twenty miles in five hours of the night, as with the frequent sicknesses and evil disposition by the occasion of our child, that we could not at this time, as we was willing to have done."[1]

Bothwell meanwhile was busy in collecting a force for the queen's protection. He seems to have immediately brought to Dunbar a sufficient number of followers to render an attack on that fortress desperate; and on the 28th of March he accompanied the royal pair back to Edinburgh at the head of two thousand horsemen. The opposition had in the mean time, with few exceptions, either fled to England or retired to a safe distance. The exiled lords who had returned from England made their appearance at the Tolbooth, where the Parliament was held, on the day for which they were cited—the day after the escape. There was of course no Parliament, for it had been dissolved by the proclamation which they had influenced Darnley to issue; but there was some subtle technical fencing, the lords protesting that they had appeared when summoned, and since there was no one to arraign them, all charges against them fell; while on the other hand, Robert Crichton, the queen's advocate, entered a counter-protest on such grounds as he thought most tenable. The lords thought it wise to retreat to Linlithgow. There was, however, no intention of pressing further on them as a party—the cause of the restoration of the old religion, which was the cause of antagonism to them, had to be abandoned for more urgent contests. The queen gave several of them letters of remission. Melville, as interim secretary, was occupied in preparing these documents at Haddington while the Court was on

[1] Labanoff, i. 337.

its way from Dunbar to Edinburgh.[1] They were not, however, directly received into favour, but were desired to retire to their own estates; and they professed to obey this instruction, remaining sharply on the watch for each turn of events.

The tragedy that naturally drew all attention in Scotland, was the topic of the day in England and throughout civilised Europe. It was not only that it was a murder—that was a common event—but it was perpetrated in such conditions of outrage and insult to royalty, as raised the indignation of sovereigns and courtiers. Yet the importance of the tragedy as a political blow could only be known to a few. In the traces of the queen's intercourse with the Court of Rome and the Papal powers we now see its significance more clearly than even the leading statesmen of the day in England and Scotland. It cut, in short, the communication of the queen with her secret correspondents across the Channel. If there was any one that could fill his place, it was emphatically marked as a post of danger. There seems, however, to have been no one with resources for the duty. Suspicion fell here and there on persons, as employed in secret messages; but if they were so, it was as subordinates to the Italian, who appears to have had the whole of that weighty business on his hands. So it came that to the queen his death was not only a mighty outrage, and the loss of a counsellor and friend, but it was a fatal blow to the political and ecclesiastical projects that so filled her aspirations. Meanwhile his mistress did honour to his memory. His body was removed from the Canongate graveyard, where it had been buried, and was solemnly, and with the proper rites of his Church, laid with the dust of the kings of Scotland within the Chapel of Holyrood. In scornful bravado the queen appointed the dead man's brother, Joseph Rizzio, a youth who had just arrived to seek his fortune, to the office of her foreign secretary. The one object of her life seemed then the avenging of the murder, and the one class of men who felt that there could be no compromise

[1] Melville, 152.

for their lives were those who could be proved to have actually committed the deed. Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, Douglas the Postulate, Ker of Faudonside, and several others, were cited to answer for the murder, and having fled to England, were outlawed and "put to the horn." A few minor persons forming part of the force which held the palace were convicted and executed.

Darnley showed the reckless perfidy of his nature by eagerly helping to denounce and capture his fellow-murderers. In speaking of them to Melville, he used an expressive trope applicable to men left to their doom, "As they have brewed so let them drink."[1] It was not part of his wife's policy to attempt to bring him to justice with the others; and so, to put a decorous appearance upon his position, he acted the farce of solemnly declaring his innocence of the crime before the Privy Council—at least the queen assured Beaton, her own ambassador, that he had declared to herself and the Council "his innocence of this last conspiracy; how he never counselled, commanded, consented, assisted, nor approved the same."[2] His reconciliation with the queen had, however, now served its turn. She no longer required to separate him from the party of the exiled lords, who had more to trust to from herself than from him. The distaste she had felt before, deepened by the intervening tragedy, broke out in a palpable loathing visible to every one around them. Melville noticed it even on the journey from Dunbar, and he thought the subsequent rapid movements of the queen were for the purpose of avoiding her hated husband. Melville takes credit for having pleaded, until he received a rebuff, for the unhappy young man. Randolph, whose eye caught the sudden change of conduct, attributed it to Mary having been shown the band for the murder of Rizzio, with her husband's signature to it; but a woman of her penetration, and with her opportunities of knowing the facts, did not require such evidence.

Her wretched husband had now effectually divested himself of every hold he ever had on any party or con-

[1] Melville, 153.

[2] Labanoff, i. 349.

siderable person in the realm. Grave and calculating statesmen distrusted and despised him from the first. Desperate plotters convicted him of the unpardonable crime of treachery to his banded confederates. The Protestant party hated him, and the scorn of the queen cast him off from the Romish party; and so, as Melville says, "he passed up and down his alane, and few durst bear him company." There was not even the external pretence of consulting him on business; and he had nothing to do but to go about like a tabooed schoolboy, bemoaning his condition to any, whether Scots or foreigners, who would listen to him—a practice which, by exposing the family brawl to the world, only made him the more odious and despicable to his wife.

An event occurred, however, which for a short time suspended the matrimonial discord. Mary had retired to the Castle of Edinburgh, as a safe retreat for the occasion; and on the 19th of June a son was born to her, afterwards known as James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. It was noticed at the time as a memorable fact that Darnley acknowledged the infant as his own; and that this should have been deemed a fact of importance is curiously suggestive of the unsatisfied and suspicious feelings which had become prevalent. Sir James Melville was sent to announce the auspicious news at the Court of England, and he has left an amusing picture of the rigid Elizabeth yielding to an impulse of curious vexation when abruptly startled by the news in the midst of a Court banquet at Greenwich, and lamenting that the Queen of Scots was the mother of a fair son while she herself was but a barren stock. Next day, however, at a public audience, she was kind and courteous, and profuse in her congratulations and the proffers of her sympathy.

The family quarrel was suspended only for a brief period by this event. The position of Darnley was ever becoming more conspicuously isolated and feeble, by the queen's policy of reconciliation with those who had been her political enemies. All but those who had actually laid hands on Rizzio were welcomed back. Thus Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, and even the man she most feared and

disliked on public grounds, Lethington, with other minor persons who had been in disgrace, were received into favour, and, nominally at least, co-operated with Bothwell and Huntly.

Darnley in his desolation seems to have become alarmed for his safety. He resolved to go to France "in a sort of desperation," as the French ambassador called it—in short, to escape. His father, Lennox, who suffered with his declining fortunes, and seems to have shared in his alarm, wrote to the queen about this design, and said there was a ship ready to receive him. She, however, resolved that he should not go. Something is muttered in the correspondence of the time about his forming a party with the Romanists against the queen, on account of her favour to the Protestant party and her abandonment of the project of restoring the old religion; but Mary and her policy were far too deeply rooted in the councils of Rome and Spain to give the foolish young man the smallest chance of doing mischief—there was no danger in that direction, and there can have been no genuine fear. The reason for detaining him seems to have been that which Le Croc refers to—the scandal that must arise from the separation and its manner, aggravated as it would be by the young man's incontinent tongue. He knew too much, foolish as he was, to be safely trusted at a distance.

His wife took this occasion to put herself in the right and him in the wrong, and did so with her usual skill. She said she had discussed the matter with him in private, and could get no satisfactory answer; so she resolved on a matrimonial dialogue in solemn manner, before an assemblage of the nobility—both those who were her confidential friends and the others who were for the time being her political allies.

Le Croc was brought within the charmed circle over which Queen Mary exercised her influence—she had taken great pains apparently to gain him. "I be not able," he says, "sufficiently to express the honour and bounty the queen here shows me; for she often prays me to ask money from her, or any other thing I stand in need of." And he paid her back by saying, "I never saw her

majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured, nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects, as at present is, by her wise conduct." Of the scene of matrimonial diplomacy which he was called on to witness, the ambassador gives the following distinct and animated account, in a letter of Court news sent on the occasion to a correspondent in France.

"And thereafter the queen prayed the king to declare in presence of the lords and before me the reason of his projected departure, since he would not be pleased to notify the same to her in private betwixt themselves. She likewise took him by the hand, and besought him for God's sake to declare if she had given him any occasion for this resolution; and entreated he might deal plainly, and not spare her. Moreover, all the lords likewise said to him, that if there was any fault on their part, upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform it. And I likewise took the freedom to tell him that his departure must certainly affect either his own or the queen's honour—that if the queen had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the same would affect her majesty; as on the other hand, if he should go away without giving any cause for it, this thing could not at all redound to his praise: therefore, that since I was in this honourable employment, I could not fail, according to my charge, to give my testimony to the truth of what I had both formerly seen and did presently see. After several things of this kind had passed amongst us, the king at last declared that he had no ground at all given him for such a deliberation; and thereupon he went out of the chamber of presence, saying to the queen, 'Adieu, madam; you shall not see my face for a long space:' after which he likewise bade me farewell; and next turning himself to the lords in general, said, 'Gentlemen, adieu.'"[1]

The eyes of onlookers now came to be fixed on Bothwell as one whose destinies seemed to be linked with those of the queen, in a sinister rather than a propitious shape.

[1] Letter addressed to Archbishop Beaton, who acted as the queen's ambassador or political agent in France.—Keith (8vo ed.), ii. 451.

As such forebodings were well justified by events that must have exceeded their wildest stretch, and we have to follow the two through a career presenting the rarely united features of reckless audacity and publicity in action, while the inner practices and private motives at work have been objects of a close criticism and keen dispute, it may be proper here to look back on such traces as we may find of Bothwell's position among his countrymen before the commencement of his crowning notoriety.

In the first place, he was largely endowed with gifts from the crown both in office and territory, and it will be proper to follow the steps of his aggrandisement, noting time and circumstance as appropriate to each.

He became lieutenant or warden of the Scots marches. On each side of the border there usually were three wardens—one for the eastern, one for the middle, and one for the western march. The policy of this will be found in the propensity of border powers to aggrandise themselves, and become independent. The rule was punctiliously observed on the English side, but on the side of Scotland Bothwell was sole warden or lieutenant.[1]

We find him transacting business in this capacity so early as the year 1560, yet the sole wardenship is spoken of in the correspondence of December 1566 as if it were a novelty.[2]

The fluctuations in the property of the Church afforded the crown ample means of distributing substantial prizes. Bothwell was endowed with the Abbacy of Melrose and the Priory domains of Haddington. Each of these foundations had wide and rich territorial possessions. It is often difficult to find how much is acquired in the acquisition of such a domain by its ecclesiastical title, since substantial portions of the territories may be given to others. It is said that Bothwell obtained the greater

[1] It is said by one with good opportunities for knowing the truth, that the three wardenships were "never before held by one person." —Wood's edition of Douglas's Peerage, 230.

[2] "Bothwell is lieutenant of all the marches of Scotland, and has allowed him 200 horsemen in wages for reforming of Liddesdale."—Forster to Cecil, Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 850.

portion of the actual wealth attending on these gifts at the time when his power at Court became conspicuous. But we find him credited with the possession of Melrose and Haddington in 1560.[1]

He was Lord High Admiral or "Great Admiral of Scotland," and we find him administering the duties of this office in 1561.[2]

The French garrison, left as we have seen in Dunbar Castle, were removed in 1561.[3] It was rumoured at the time that Bothwell was to be commander of the castle.[4] We find it, however, in the mean time governed by others, and it does not seem to have come into Bothwell's hands until the more critical period of 1566 or 1567.[5] The possession of this, the strongest of all the Scots sea fortresses, was a substantial addition to the power of the Admiral of the Scots seas. It was ever the taint attending on Bothwell's possession of authority, that he employed it for his own evil ends; and thus it was imputed to the chief magistrate of the seas that he made them safe to pirates, and unsafe to the statesmen who were under the shadow of his enmity.[6]

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[1] "Lord Bothwell has given him by the queen the abbeys of Melrose and Haddington."—Randolph to Cecil, Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 9. But the same collector of news says, in December 1563, that Lethington is at Haddington, "taking possession of the whole Abbacy which the queen had given him, so that he is now equal with any, and has his whole land lying in Lothian."—Ibid., (1563), 617.

[2] Ibid., 145. [3] Ibid., 278.

[4] "The Queen of Scots has given order that in case the French be shifted from Dunbar, the Earl of Bothwell shall forthwith enter and keep it to her use."—Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 21st May 1561, ibid., 121.

[5] "The Earl of Bothwell has the whole inheritance of Dunbar given to him, the castle reserved."—Randolph to Cecil, 7th June 1566, ibid., 81. "Bothwell has obtained the castle of Dunbar, with all the lands belonging to it."—Drury to Cecil, 19th April 1567, ibid., 211.

[6] For instance, "Lethington being ready to go into Flanders, had word that Bothwell laid wait to take him by sea, whereupon he is gone into Argyle."—Killigrew to Cecil, 24th June 1566, ibid., 94. So, when, as we shall see, certain accusative placards were published in Edinburgh, all masters and skippers of vessels were forbidden under

We shall all the better understand the estimate of Bothwell's character by his contemporaries, and the reason why evil repute was so bitterly assigned to it before the great crime associated for ever with his name, by taking a glance at the political and social condition of the border at this period. If the traditions of the old earldom of Northumberland lingered, to suggest to those who were strongest on the border the establishment of something like an independent Margravate, the question was settled by the destruction of the Armstrongs. A change had gradually come over public opinion about mosstrooping. It was degenerating from national warfare into sordid individual rapine. The old debt of enmity to England for the war of aggression was discharged by the treaty of Edinburgh. The political influences that led to that treaty had discouraged marauding in England, and on each side of the border there were zealous efforts to punish depredations on the other side as if they were crimes within the depredator's own country. It required a generation or two, however, to pass, ere the borderers could adjust their habits to these new principles. They were still rievers by nature, at war with all restrictive laws. What they longed for above all things that could befall to make them happy was war between the two countries. Then would each side be let loose on the national enemy to plunder the byres and the barns that had grown affluent through years of peaceful industry. Thus, ever on the alert to welcome the happy outbreak of war, the demeanour of the borderers was, like the palpitation of the funds at the present day, the most delicate test of the chances of a quarrel.[1]

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pain of death to give passage to one of the persons accused of uttering them.—Anderson, i. 38. There is a story told by Buchanan of the queen and Bothwell taking a yachting voyage in the Firth of Forth to Alloa, accompanied by a crew of pirates, only to be accounted for by the suspicions current as to Bothwell's use of his maritime powers.

[1] Of this there is an instance in Bothwell's own career. "Some fear this taking of Bothwell will cause Teviotdale men to ride the faster. Continual bruits are here sown among them of wars."—Randolph to Cecil, 22d January 1563, Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 60. The "taking" was one of Bothwell's many adventures. He was in a vessel

Such marauding as there was took gradually the shape of individual robbery rather than warfare. It was observed that, curbed as they were on the side of England, the mosstroopers turned northwards and did occasional business in the Lothians and in Fifeshire. It was not a horde bursting on the district and sweeping away all its wealth of cattle, but the occasional feat of some small party attracted by a valuable piece of booty.

Thus it befell, that while the mosstrooper race retained their old instincts, the pursuit of them was falling from its old position as a policy down into that of a crime against society. The descendants of those who had carried out a war policy against a national enemy, or arrived at the establishment of a separate power between two hostile kingdoms, were becoming vulgar thieves and robbers.[1] How far this social change concerns the character and

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driven on Holy Island, having been, as he said, on his way to France to visit the queen's uncles, the duke, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. A party was told off from the garrison of Berwick to search for him. He was taken in an outhouse belonging to a Northumbrian yeoman. They found the earl in bed and two of his men standing with their weapons and apparel about them, and their horses saddled, and so apprehended the earl and his men.—Ibid., 51. We find Sir Henry Percy, who then had him in charge, writing to Cecil that "he is a man of the frontier and of great power; for Liddesdale is his, wherein are many great offenders to this realm, also a good part of Teviotdale, with the residents in which he is in great friendship, as the Cars, the Turnbulls, the Scotts, and the Rutherfords." It is therefore put to Cecil to answer, "whether the earl's friendship might find the queen any service."—Ibid., 129.

[1] Sir Richard Maitland (father of William Maitland, better known as Lethington) has a political diatribe against "The Thieves of Liddesdale," written, according to Sibbald's Chronicle (iii. 104), "perhaps in summer 1561."

"Thay thiefs have neirhand herreit haill
Ettrick forest and Lauderdaill.
Now are they gane
In Lothiane, and spairs nane
That they will wail. . . .
The spuile puir men of their paks,
Thay leif them nocht on bed nor baks.
Bayth hen and cok
With reil and rok, the Laird's Jok
All with him taks.
Thay leif not spindle, spoon, nor spit,
Bed, bolster, blanket, sark, nor sheit;

career of Bothwell is found in the consideration that he was the most powerful man on the Scots side of the border, and in the solution of the question, how he used the power he so possessed?

Bothwell had, both from his wide territories and his triple wardenship, a preponderating influence on the border. His castle of Hermitage was as much beyond the strength of the border peel towers or bastles, as a

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John of the Parke
Rypes kist and ark—for all in wark,
He is richt meet."

This John of the Park seems to have been the man who wounded Bothwell.

Sir Davd Lindsay, writing perhaps some twenty years earlier, gives us the changing features of the mosstrooper with his peculiar touches of sarcasm and individuality. In the satire of "The Three Estates," "Common Theft" lets out his propensities. He is met by "Oppression," who is described so indistinctly as to give the impression that the satirist could only venture on distant hints. We may suppose him to be a potentate in the Highlands, since he is to be found in Balquhidder, and swears by St Fillan. He gets the better of poor Common Theft, who finds him in durance seated in the stocks, and on the promise of "ane couple of kye in Liddesdale," he gets Common Theft to change places with him, and makes off to his own fortresses. Before this calamity comes on him, Common Theft monologues in this manner:—

"Will na gude fellow to me tell
Quhair I may find
The Earl of Rothes' best hakney
That was my errand here away.
He is richt stark as I hear say,
And swift as wind.
Here is my bridle and my spurris,
To gar him lanss our feild and furris,
Might I him gett to Ewis durris
I tak na cuir.
Of that horss micht I get ane sicht,
I haif na dout yet or midnicht
That he and I sould take the flicht
Through Dysart Muir.
Of companary, tell me brother
Whilk is the richt way to The Struther:
I wald me welcome to my modher,
Yif I micht speid.
I wald gif baith my coat and bonnet,
To get my Lord Lindsay's brown Jonet;
War we beyond the water of Annet
We sould nocht dreid."

—Sibbald, ii. 314. "The Struther" was in Fifeshire, and so the mosstrooper of Ewesdale, temptingly close to England, is obliged to turn northward and transact business north of the Forth.

fortress that will stand a siege compared to the strong private man's house that may hold out against a band of robbers. In the most remote and inaccessible wilds of the Scots border, it looked upon England some eight miles distant. Thus, either for good or evil, the Earl Bothwell was supreme in this critical district. But he was in bad repute, and the preponderance of opinion was that the use he put his power to was evil. The public opinion of his class—the great border proprietors —had outgrown, as we have just seen, the spirit of the riever. To countenance him or have dealings with him resembled what it was in Queen Anne's reign for the members of some worshipful county family to be tainted with a suspicion of connivance with highwaymen.[1] If such dealings were discreditable among the higher order of border potentates, the reproach fell with double force on that one among them who was intrusted with the ruling and ordering of the others. In a variety of shapes there occur bitter remarks on Bothwell's character and designs.[2]

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[1] Doings of the kind are the object of Lord Howard's rebuke in the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel:'—

"It irks, high dame, my noble lords,
'Gainst ladye fair to draw their swords;
But yet they may not tamely see,
All through the western wardenry,
Your law-contemning kinsmen ride,
And burn and spoil the border-side;
And ill beseems your rank and birth
To make your towers a flemens-firth." *

—Canto iv. 24.

It happens that his rebuke is imagined as addressed to a lady who was on peculiarly intimate terms with Bothwell.

[2] On the 21st of March 1561, Sir John Forster writes to Cecil,—"For that the Liddelsdale men came into Hexamshire on the 19th instant and there made open reif; yet they were so hastily pursued that there are sundry of their horses won, and they themselves went very streightly away on their feet through the mosses on the high land, where no horseman could pursue them." He finds that "they have taken encouragement by reason of Lord Bothwell's arrival," and he "desires to understand the Council's pleasure, whether he may have liberty to do such displeasure to the Liddlesdale men as he is able, seeing he cannot be answered for them."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 34.

On the 28th of February 1563, Randolph says: "Since the apprehension of Bothwell the thieves have no less spared Scotland than England. They take it here to be done by his advice; they know that he

* An asylum for outlaws.

It appears that in the eyes of the substantial English statesmen, among the elements of disreputability in his condition, one was that for all his power and his wide territories, he was ever destitute of money. Among many

has continual conference with the veriest thieves in the country. But that it stands with Queen Elizabeth's pleasure, it is judged that that liberty which he has can tend but to small effect."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 168.

Randolph again, on the 19th of September 1565, in the crisis of the contest with Murray: "Such order is in this country that no honest man is sure either of his life or goods. To amend these matters it is told that Earl Bothwell is arrived, whose power is to do more mischief than ever he was minded to do good in his life; a fit man to be a minister to any shameful act, be it either against God or man."—Ibid., 467.

On the days of "trew" or truce, as they were called, the wardens and their followers on either side of the border met for an equitable adjustment of counter-claims for injuries. The claims were rendered in "bills," and the whole process reminds one of those questions of "proving on cross bills" in bankruptcies, that have distracted lawyers. In these complex and delicate adjustments, Forster, who was warden of the English middle marches, writes to the Privy Council of England about his arrangements "for the performance of certain bills for the attemptates of both realms:" "Sent his Warden-serjeant with a roll of twenty-three attemptates, to be delivered by Lord Borthwick at the Hermitage on 25th February; when such as kept the house flatly denied either to receive any letter or rolls, and said that they kept the house for Lord Bothwell and no other, and took the officer prisoner and spoiled him of his horse and all that he had, and caused him to find surety to enter whenever they called upon him. It is supposed that they have got some encouragement to do so by reason of Lord Bothwell's arrival in Scotland." He called on the Scots warden for redress, "who says that he will desire the assistance of the Council of Scotland now at Edinburgh, for otherwise he is unable to redress it, or other attempts of Liddlesdale."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 1561, p. 10.

Bedford, going to a day of "trew" well armed, is rather apprehensive about the peace between the two parties, "because Bothwell is with such a rout of thieves and lawless people so near. I assure you he is as naughty a man as liveth. . . . Whatsoever countenance of justice that queen pretendeth outwardly, yet is she thought to favour him much, and if she punish him not, then will I think she is not so bent to do justice as I supposed."—6th April 1565; ibid., 327.

These are casual estimates of his merit as a keeper of order and administrator of justice on the border. A collection from the correspondence of the day, of the passages announcing evil opinions of his character and intentions, would be tiresome. A passage in a letter from Bedford to Cecil at the time of the great trial of strength with Murray has an odd casual aptness to the tenor of subsequent events:—

allusions to this, one by Throckmorton may suffice, in reference to the question whether he should be permitted, in the early part of the year 1564, to return to Scotland, or be left in England, "where, if he remain in beggary, my sovereign shall be forced for pity to supply his necessity, for all is sold here to the uttermost penny."[1]

There is observable through all the comments of the day on Bothwell's restless and criminal career, a strange curiosity and anxiety about Queen Mary's intention regarding him: is she favourable and inclined to help him out of his difficulties? is she implacable and determined to hunt him down? Even if there had never been the cause there afterwards was for connecting their names together, these traces of a belief that a sovereign had a strong personal interest in an erring subject would be peculiar. The first question that naturally occurs is, whether these symptoms of interest point to the awakening of that which afterwards

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"The length of time and the easyness of his bond maketh me to think that the queen there doth secretly favor him. If he get fair weather on his back, he may chance to wax wanton and work them some trouble before they catch him."

There is, in a postscript to this letter, the following personal intimation to Cecil, who was well accustomed to such warnings, and seems to have taken them with quiet courage: "Bothwell had this talk of you in France, that he meant not to kill any in England so soon as you, and one Riveley. . . . You may think yourself happy that such an unhappy man doth bear you evil will, which is for no other cause but doing justice and loving your country."—1565; Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 320.

[1] Randolph to Cecil, 21st February 1564; Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 57. There are other passages in this correspondence that unfortunately do not fully interpret themselves: "Such as have written —and I among the rest—in favour of my Lord Bothwell—saving the queen and Mary Fleming—repent their haste." A month later Sir Henry Percy writes to Cecil that Bothwell is recommended by the queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, and solicits Cecil's patronage for him, "being young, and not left so well to maintain his estate as the same requires."—Ibid., 83. So also an interpreter would be welcome to the following passage in a letter another month later, attributed to Kirkcaldy of Grange, and addressed at Perth to Randolph: "In the mean time I wad such as ye knaw I have always done, that the Earl of Bothwell were keeped [in England] still, for our queen thinks to have him at all times ready to shake out of her pushet [French, *pochette*] against us Protestants."—Laing's edition of Knox, vi. 540.

became a guilty passion? The answer to this is, that nothing in the tone of the passages referred to warrants the conclusion that this was in the minds of the writers. The tenor of their suspicions, when they are suspicious, seems rather to be that she cherished Bothwell as that desperate and remorseless enemy of her brother Murray who might be counted on for working his ruin.[1]

There is still an opening to a higher motive for any partiality felt by Queen Mary towards this man before the great scandal arose. She may have expected to find him a trusty warrior in the impending contest—for that there should be a great European war, with England on one side

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[1] Randolph, for instance, explaining to Cecil that in the pursuit of Murray and his followers she is waiting for money: "Thereafter she will herself again to the fields and pursue them wheresoever she finds them. There comes a great host out of the north with Lord Gordon, who imputes the overthrow of his father to Murray—which is approved by the queen. Bothwell takes great things upon him and promises much—a fit captain for so loose a company as now hangs upon him. Whatsoever she is able to do by authority, suit, request, favour, or by benefit, all is one so it may serve to the overthrow of them that she is offended with."—1565; Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 478.

On the question of the appointment of a "lieutenant-general," Captain Cockburn writes to Cecil on 2d October 1565: "She and the king have been at great strife for chosing a lieutenant. The king would have his father to be lieutenant, and she would have Bothwell, by reason he bears evil will against Murray, and has promised to have him die an alien—and for that cause she makes him a lieutenant."—Ibid., 477.

The literary history of a passage expressive of the queen's enmity to her brother reveals a new peril to mankind, in any lack of carefulness in the citation of words of disparagement attributed to Queen Mary—there is no such peril on the other side. The words are: "There is no talk of peace with that queen, but that she will first have a head of the duke or of the Earl of Murray." The scolding administered to the English historian of the period for a careless use of this passage, thundered as it has been across the Atlantic, is one of the curiosities of literature.—See 'Mary Queen of Scots and her latest English Historian,' by James F. Meline (New York, 1872), p. 77-89. When we come to her exultation at the news of the murder of her brother, we may judge how lightly she would herself have taken the imputation of any amount of enmity to him, unless it had been made at an inopportune moment—as when she walked between him and her husband, holding a hand of each, after the murder of Rizzio.

and France on the other, was, as we have seen, the expected solution of the difficulties of the time. Of course she earnestly desired that Scotland should help France; and if the traditions of the old league were appealed to, it might make them more welcome to the country that the forces of Scotland were to be commanded by a Protestant. There would be consistency in such championship, since he had served her mother in the contest ending with the treaty of Edinburgh. But, in the correspondence of the day, there is a dubiousness about his motives and their sincerity on that occasion. From the opposite side he is not spoken of as in his natural place, and from his own he is scarcely esteemed an assured friend. We have seen that he intercepted the subsidy sent by Queen Elizabeth to the Lords of the Congregation. It might do something to the clearing away of doubts if we had an account rendered by him of his disposal of the money. If he employed it in bringing retainers into the field, or in providing Hermitage Castle against a siege, then the affair was the interrupting of the enemy's supplies and the appropriation of them to the public service. But it is spoken of by the English more in the tone of a highwayman's feat. For all his vast possessions and high offices, he is generally treated by these English newswriters as a needy man driven to shifts and expedients; and in the accounts of his success on this occasion there are touches of sordidness that are more appropriate to the border thief than to the great commander.[1] In the same spirit there were demands that he should render up his plunder—demands in a tone that never could be used to a hostile commander intercepting the enemy's supplies. The whole affair leaves a suspicion that it was the disagreeable pressure from the sum he had thus acquired rather than zeal for the ancient league and the cause of Queen Mary's mother, that influenced him to join that cause against the Lords of the Congregation.

To the man on whose career and character the correspondence of the day affords us these casual lights, let us now return at that critical point where all eyes were bent

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), November 1559, p. 8, 9.

on him, and on the queen along with him, as in some shape to be sharers in a common destiny. It was becoming evident that there was something in her sentiments towards him of a warmer nature than those who closely observed it could rationally attribute either to a just sense of his public merits or to simple gratitude for his services to herself. That she should fix her love on him has always been deemed something approaching the unnatural; but when the circumstances are considered, the conclusion ceases to become so absolutely startling. Mary was evidently one of those to whom at times—and to her the times were apt to come in quick succession—a great affair of the heart is a necessity of life; the necessity now increased in intensity by her utter disappointment in her last attachment, and the loathing she entertained towards its object. Who, then, were near her, to be the first refuge for her fugitive affections? None but her own nobles, for she was not in a position to treat with a foreign prince; and in looking round among the most eminent of these, including Huntly, the brother of a former suitor, Argyle, Athole, and Arran, there were none who, on the ground of rank and position, had claims much higher than Bothwell's, unless it might be Arran by reason of his royal blood, and he was already a rejected suitor. In personal qualifications Bothwell was infinitely above them all. He had a genius for command, with a dash of the chivalrous, which made Throckmorton describe him to Queen Elizabeth in 1560, as "a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man."[1] He had lived at the Court of France, and thus had over his harder and more effective qualities the polish and accomplishments which were all that Darnley had besides his handsomeness to recommend him. Bothwell, as the incidents in his career show, was restrained by no conscientious scruples. They were not, indeed, a necessary of life, or even an ordinary possession of the social circle in which he figured. There, unless a man were notoriously addicted to vices now unnamed—Both-

[1] Hardwicke's State Papers, i. 149. Perhaps we should temper the word glorious with the prefix "vain," giving it the sense of the Latin as displayed by Terence in his "miles gloriosus."

well was but faintly accused of them by bitter enemies—he might keep his fame clear. For the matter of ordinary profligacy, it lay between himself and his physical constitution; and a man like Bothwell had, whether from judicious control or the strength of his northern constitution, the satisfaction of keeping his head clear and his arm steady long after many of his companions in like courses had sunk into premature senility. He was at a period of life when the manly attractions do not begin to decline, for he had just passed—if he had passed—his thirtieth year. Tradition says that he was ill-favoured; but I do not remember any contemporary authority for the assertion, except the cursory sketch of him by Brantome, who may have met him, but does not speak as if he had.[1] The question cannot now be decided by the eye, for there does not exist a picture which has even the reputation of being his portrait.

With regard to his rank, it aimed at something higher than his means. His comparative poverty, his inability to grace by a bountiful outlay the state he aimed at, comes in various shapes across his career, and became memorable by drawing men's eyes to the vigorous efforts made at Court to mend his fortunes. But poor as he was, his recent ancestors had been the rivals, and in some measure the successors, of the Douglases, who themselves had been the formidable rivals of the crown. He was thus, to those who turned friendly eyes on him, seen in the interesting position of the head of a decayed house striving to restore its ancient lustre. In that age of revolutions and forfeitures, when property and power rapidly changed hands, such a man, to make himself the most powerful subject in the realm, required only royal favour; and this, as we shall presently see, was not denied him.

It is incidentally curious that Bothwell's family had acquired a reputation for affairs with royal ladies, and is in some measure significant, as helping to mitigate that colour of the marvellous in which his audacious projects and their

[1] "Ce Bothuel étoit le plus laid homme et d'aussi mauvaise grace q'il se peut voir."—Des Dames Illustres, Disc. iii. Buchanan speaks of him as like an ape; but this was when writing at him, and is no more to be taken as accurate than any other scolding objurgation.

success are generally painted. In the Castle of Dunbar, held by his father's great-grandfather Hepburn of Hales, the widow of James I., the renowned and beautiful Jane Beaufort, spent her latter days and died. She had lived in a questionable obscurity for some time; and how or why she was under the same roof with Hepburn, whether by her own consent or by force, was matter of unsatisfied conjecture at the time. A son of this Hepburn was reputed among the many lovers of Mary of Gueldres, the widow of James II. Bothwell's father, according to the chronicles, was the rival of Darnley's father, Lennox, as a suitor of Mary of Guise. The expense which the disappointed aspirant had incurred in sunning himself at Court in his wooing, contributed, as it was said, greatly to the ruin of his house. It has to be added to all this, that Bothwell had proved himself the devoted champion of the queen, protecting her alike from the calculating ambition of her brother and the base insults of her wretched husband. The turning-point seems to have been the murder of Rizzio, when Darnley showed how much treachery and cruelty could be the companions of his folly and feebleness; and her champion, by his dexterous escape and rapid muster of followers, placed her at once in safety and power. In fact, but for the crimes which paved the way to the conclusion, the union of Bothwell and Mary would have been the natural winding-up of a legitimate romance. Remove the unpleasant conditions that both were married, and that there was a husband and a wife to be got rid of ere the two could be united—substitute honour and virtue for treachery and crime—and here are the complete elements out of which the providence which presides over romance develops the usual happy conclusion.

Of the influence now held by him at Court, contemporary estimates, however casual or imperfect, are far more valuable than those afterwards made, however sagely, with a view to account for intervening events. Of such contemporary estimates, something may be traced in the notices of Bothwell's career already cited. In these is an allusion to a suspected project for putting in his hands the whole power of the crown over the military force, by endowing him

with the office of "Lieutenant-General" of the kingdom. It will be remembered by the students of English history that suspicions of Queen Elizabeth's intention to confer an office of the same character and title on Leicester made her advisers very uneasy. On the 28th of September 1565, Bedford, who was gathering news on the border, wrote to Cecil about Bothwell: "He is now one of that queen's Council, and besides Athole and Ruthven the chiefest man, and looks daily to be advanced higher;" and on 2d October, speaking of deficiencies in the garrison of Berwick, and the prospects of war: "The saying is in Scotland that the queen there has made Bothwell Lieutenant-General of her army, now to be set forward."[1] Again, after the lapse of several months, on the 27th of July 1567: "Bothwell carries all the merit and countenance in Court. He is the most hated man among the noblemen, and therefore may fall out somewhat to his cumber one day, if the queen takes not up the matter the sooner;" and a few days later,—"It is said that the earl's insolence is such as that David was never more abhorred than he is now." Again, on the 12th of August: "I have heard that there is a device working for the Earl of Bothwell, the particularities of which I might have heard, but because such dealings like me not, I desire to hear no farther thereof. Bothwell has grown of late so hated that he cannot long continue. He beareth all the sway; and though Murray be there, and has good words, yet can he do nothing."[2]

A memorable occurrence is connected with the execution of his duties as warden of the marches. There came one of those occasions of more than average harrying and quarrelling which arose at intervals, and it was determined to hold a solemn justice aire at Jedburgh, which the queen herself was to countenance by her presence. Bothwell went to his own Castle of Hermitage, in the centre of the disturbed district, to collect offenders for trial at the great court. His function was more like that of an invading general than a head-constable. He had a good deal of

[1] Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 473, 477.
[2] Raumer, 86-88.

hard fighting, in the course of which he was dangerously wounded by Elliot of The Park.[1] There are disputes about the manner of the event, but this is of less consequence than that it occurred on the 7th October. Next day the justice aire was opened. When the proceedings had gone on for a week, Mary took horse one day and rode to the Hermitage, where Bothwell lay awaiting recovery from his wound; and according to Lord Scrope, who sent the news to Cecil, she remained two hours, "to Bothwell's great pleasure and content," and then galloped back to Jedburgh. She had with her there, as official documents show, Murray, Huntly, Athole, Rothes, and Caithness, with three bishops and the judges and officers of court; but to what extent she was attended on her ride is not very clear. It is certain that she could not have had a force sufficient to make the adventure safe in a country which was not merely lawless in the usual sense of the term, but where the sovereign of Scotland was looked on as the great public enemy. The double journey extended to at least forty miles over a country which would be felt as singularly wild, difficult, and dangerous to a rider of the present day.[2]

About the strength and courage necessary to such a feat there can be no question. About the motives which induced the queen to perform it there have been disputes. The affair looked as if she had been under that irresistible influence over which selfish reason has no control—to know by the sight of the eyes and the hearing of the ears the chances for life or death of some beloved object hover-

[1] The shape given to this affair by rumour when it reached Lord Scrope, the Warden of the West Marches at Carlisle, was "that the Earl of Bothwell, being in Liddesdale, apprehended the Laird of Mongerton and Whitehaugh, with other Armstrongs, and put them in the Hermitage. And yesterday, going about to take like persons of the Elliots, he encountered John Elliot of the Park, and shot him with a dag, upon which he assailed the Earl and killed him."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 137.

[2] The Author knows, from having walked over the ground, that Hermitage Castle is a stiff twenty miles' journey from Jedburgh. It is reported, on the authority of tradition, that her horse floundered in a marsh, thence called the Queen's Myre; but if she passed this spot, she must have diverged from the direct track.

ing between the two. On the other hand, it has been supposed that she thought it right to undertake this journey in the way of business, that she might confer with the wounded warden of the marches on details connected with his performance of his official duties. Whatever was her motive, she paid the penalty of her exploit in a strong fever, which ran its course, leaving the issues of life and death uncertain until the tenth day, when she began to revive physically, while those around her still noted symptoms of mental suffering, for which each accounted according to his prepossessions and knowledge.

When able to move, she went by short journeys to Craigmillar, close to Edinburgh. There Le Croc saw her in the beginning of December, and said: "She is in the hands of the physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well; and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist of a deep grief and sorrow—nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words, 'I could wish to be dead.' We know very well that the injury she received is exceeding great, and her majesty will never forget it. The king her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh the day after Captain Hay went away. He remained there but one single night, and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him. He returned to see the queen about five or six days ago; and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from this, which I complied with, and found that things go still worse and worse. I think he intends to go away to-morrow; but in any event, I am much assured, as I have always been, that he won't be present at the baptism."[1]

A document of later date throws very instructive light on the condition of the Court at this time. It is called "The Protestation of the Earls of Huntly and Argyle touching the Murder of the King of Scots."[2] It opens with an enumeration of the group surrounding the queen

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[1] Keith (8vo ed.), xcvi.

[2] This document has been frequently printed. It is in Keith, Book II. App. xcvi.

at Craigmillar, including the protesters themselves, Bothwell, Murray, and Lethington. The two latter, it states, came to Argyle's bedroom before he had risen. Lethington spoke of the hardship of Ruthven, Morton, and the others continuing in banishment for the affair of Rizzio, seeing it was done to stop the Parliament and prevent the forfeiture of Murray and his friends, and said they thought him bound in all fairness to use his influence for their restoration. Lethington then proposed, as the best means of gaining the queen's consent to the restoration, to find means of divorcing her from Darnley. Huntly was then sent for, and the matter propounded to him, with the special inducement that the opportunity might be taken to do something in his own favour by the restoration of forfeited lands. He said he would not stand in the way of the project, and the four then went to lay it before the queen. Lethington, still acting as spokesman, opened up on the "great number of grievous and intolerable offences" which her ungrateful husband had perpetrated against her, "and continuing every day from evil to worse." The divorce was then proposed as her best mode of relief. After they had plied her with persuasions, the reception given by her to the proposal is thus stated by the protesters: "Her grace answerit, that under twa conditions she might understand the same—the ane, that the divorcement were made lawfully; the other, that it war not prejudice to her son—otherwise her hyness would rather endure all torments, and abyde the perils that might chance her in her grace's lifetime. The Earl of Bothwell answered, that he doubted not but the divorcement might be made bot prejudice in anywise of my lord prince, alleging the example of himself, that he ceased not to succeed to his father's heritage without any difficulty, albeit there was divorce betwixt him and his mother."

That she should fear the effect of a divorce on the legitimacy of her child is at first calculated to start strange suspicions as to the facts which such a process, if founded on the respective conduct of the husband and wife, would disclose; but Buchanan, in his celebrated Detection, lets us see that the ground of divorce pointed at on the occasion

was consanguinity. There next follows a passage of a strangely suggestive kind: "Then Lethington, taking the speech, said, 'Madam, fancy[1] ye not we are here of the principal of your grace's nobility and Council that sall find the moyen that your majesty sall be quit of him without prejudice of your son; and albeit that my Lord of Murray here present be little less scrupulous for ane Protestant nor your grace is for ane Papist, I am assurit he will look throw his fingers thereto, and sall behold our doings, saying nothing to the same.' The queen's majesty answered, 'I will that ye do nothing whereto any spot may be laid to my honour or conscience, and therefore I pray you rather let the matter be in the estate as it is, abiding till God of His goodness put remeid thereto; that ye, believing to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure.' 'Madam,' said Lethington, 'let us guide the matter amongst us, and your grace sall see nothing but good, and approved by Parliament.'" There is reason to believe that this conversation is pretty accurately reported. In the first place, Huntly and Argyle were men of such repute for probity as the times permitted; and Murray, not criticising the accuracy of the statement, merely denied that he had entered into any band or engagement for the murder, and in fact justified the expressive gesture described by Lethington, of holding his hand before his face, as if to hide what was in progress from his eyes, yet seeing it all the while. Let us look at the object of the protestation. Its object was to vindicate the queen from the charge that she had been "of the foreknowledge, counselled, devised, and commanded the murder." The protesters count that Lethington, in the words quoted, did announce the murder; and the manner in which they make this bear on the queen's vindication is that, being assured that the deed would be done by others, there was no occasion why she should dip her own hands in blood—no occasion for her to "counsel, devise, persuade, and command" the deed. True, what was to-

[1] This word "fancy" is supposed to be a mistake for "soucy"—*se soucier;* but whatever may have been the intended word, it does not much affect the tenor.

be done was to be "approved by Parliament," and Parliament did not approve of it in the way in which it came to be done. But whether there was a sincere intention to walk in such a manner as to secure the sanction of the Estates, the one thing clear is that a promise was made to rid the queen of her unendurable husband, and that without a divorce. Huntly and Argyle, it may be noticed, did not pen their protest for an age when it would be considered either very improbable or very horrible, that a woman situated as Mary was would be glad of the assurance that she would be relieved of her husband without requiring to to do anything that would compromise her own safety.

As all seemed to expect, Darnley was absent from the baptism of the young prince on the 17th of December; and his conduct was the more emphatic, as he was then living in Stirling Castle, where the ceremony was performed. Bothwell did the honours of the occasion, as one to whom such a function came naturally; and it was remarked as rather anomalous that a Protestant should have been selected to adjust and direct a ceremonial conducted under the forms of the Romish Church.[1] The despised husband went about pouring out his grievances to all who would listen to them, and became so troublesome that the French ambassador had to threaten that if Darnley entered his house by one door he would himself leave it by the other. Meanwhile, among the events now hurrying upon each other, those who pressed for the pardon of Rizzio's murderers were successful as to all but George Douglas and Ker of Faudonside, who had committed, or at all events threatened, violence in the royal presence.

Darnley was now seized with a sudden and acute illness, which broke out cutaneously. Poison was at first naturally suspected. The disease was speedily pronounced to be smallpox; but it has been conjectured that it may

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[1] "Bothwell is appointed to receive the ambassadors, and all things for the christening is at his appointment, and the same scarcely liked with the rest of the nobility."—Forster to Cecil, 11th Dec.; Calendar of State Papers (Foreign).

have been one of those forms of contamination which had then begun to make their silent and mysterious visitation in this country, while the immediate cause by which they were communicated was yet unknown. From what occurred afterwards, it became a current belief that he had been poisoned. He was removed to Glasgow, and tended under the direction of his father, Lennox.

His enemies waited to see if nature would relieve them of the work before them; but as he began to recover, they began to be active. Their hands were strengthened by the assistance of Morton, Ruthven, and the other fugitives who had been pardoned, and whose restoration was no doubt facilitated by the work in prospect for them. That all things might be done duly and in order, a bond for the slaughter of the king was prepared. The drafting of this important document was committed to James Balfour, the greatest lawyer of his day. No copy of it has been preserved, and what we chiefly know about it is from dubious sources.[1] In the confession afterwards uttered by Morton on his downfall, he stated that Bothwell met him at Whittinghame, and in a long communing tried to persuade him to join in a plot for the murder of the king, telling him it was the queen's desire that he should be removed, and "she would have it to be done." Morton says, having just got out of one troublesome affair, he was averse to immediately engaging in another; and put it off at the time by desiring, before he committed himself, to be assured of the queen's wish under the evidence of her own hand. He says that afterwards, when he was in St Andrews visiting the Earl of Angus, Archibald Douglas came to him from Bothwell to press the matter; but he had now

[1] The Laird of Ormiston, in his confession, professed to cite a part of it from memory, to this effect: "That for saemickle it was thought expedient and maist profitable for the commonwealth, by the haill nobility and lords under subscryvit, that sic ane young fool and proud tyrant suld not reign or bear rule over them; and that for divers causes, therefore, they all had concluded that he suld be put off by ane way or another—and whosoever suld take the deed in hand, or do it, they suld defend and fortify it as themselves."—Pitcairn, i. 512*.

the good excuse that he had been promised a writing under the queen's hand, and had not received it. When asked why he did not reveal the plot, he said significantly, "I durst not reveal it for fear of my life; for at that time to whom should I have revealed it? To the queen? She was the doer thereof. I was minded, indeed, to the king's father [viz., Darnley himself], but that I durst not for my life; for I knew him to be such a bairn, that there was nothing told him but he would reveal it to her again."[1]

Completely in harmony with the part acted by these performers in the tragedy, a change came over the conduct of the queen. She employed her ductile arts on her diseased, suspicious, terrified husband. She set herself to the task of quieting his fears and luring him back to her arms. She announced that she would visit him on his sick-bed; and she set forth on her journey on the 22d of January 1567. A confidential friend of her husband's family was sent to meet her. He is usually called "Thomas Craufurd, a gentleman of Lennox's household." Although Lennox held something of a court, this title is apt to carry an imperfect impression of Craufurd's social position. He was a near kinsman of Lennox, and consequently of the queen's husband. We shall afterwards hear of him in the civil war of 1569 as Captain Craufurd of Jordanhill. He was, in the mean time, intrusted by the father of the sick man to attend this critical meeting between the husband and wife, and to observe and tell to his lord all that passed. It was a duty of some moment; for Lennox evidently believed that the visit was connected with some deadly purpose, and he was striving to fathom it. Craufurd was instructed to report everything he saw and all he heard passing between the two. The question how they conducted themselves and what they said to each other be-

[1] Confession, in Bannatyne's Memorials; Bannatyne edit., 317. This meeting at Whittinghame was noted at the time by the political gossips. "The Lord Morton lies at the Laird of Whittingham's, where the Lord Bothwell and Lethington came of late. Here they look for Lethington or Melville very shortly to repair (wherefore I refer it to your honour's conjecture) [cancelled]."—Drury to Cecil, 23d January 1567; Calendar of State Papers (Foreign).

came afterwards momentous, and holds so important a place in the history of a year or two later, that we may pass it over for the present, merely noting that Mary prevailed on her husband to agree that, after he had made some advance towards recovery, he would live at Craigmillar Castle for a time, and take the bath there.

After the queen departed, there came a word or two between her husband and Craufurd, remarkable in their way. The sick man asked Craufurd what he thought of the project for removing him. Craufurd did not like it. Taking her husband to Craigmillar instead of his own place of residence was odd—it seemed as if she were going to take him more like a prisoner than a husband. Then came this from the sick man: "He answered that he thought little less himself, and feared himself meikle—save the confidence he had in her promise only; notwithstanding, he would go with her, and put himself in her hands, though she should cut his throat, and besought God to be judge unto them baith."[1]

A few days afterwards she had her husband removed to Edinburgh, so that he arrived there on the last day of January. The purpose of conveying him to Craigmillar was changed. Yet he was told that he would not be taken to Holyrood, but to a place close to the city wall called the Kirk-of-Field. He knew that there stood the great hotel of the Hamilton family, and expected to be taken to it; but the house destined for him was a smaller building, the residence of the provost of the collegiate church of St Mary-in-the-Fields, which conveniently belonged to Robert Balfour, the brother of the drafter of the bond. This was one of the ecclesiastical establishments wrecked by the English invaders. From this or some other cause the provost's house seems to have been singularly destitute of defences for a building of that age; and Nelson, Darnley's page, tells that a small door, which appears to have given access to the whole building from the courtyard, was taken off by the queen's orders, to cover the vat or tub in which the convalescent took his

[1] Record Office, Scots Correspondence, vol. xiii. No. 14.

bath, as if nothing more appropriate could be found for such a purpose. Several incidental details speak clearly of the hasty occupation of a building which, however suitable for other purposes, was not adapted to tranquillity and security. An effort seems to have been made to give comfort and even a touch of regal magnificence to the apartments by hangings and furniture, conveniently afforded from the affluent supplies obtained by the plunder of Strathbogie in the conflict with Huntly.[1] For all that could be thus superficially done for it, the establishment seems to have been of the most sordid and slovenly character. The key of a door leading out through the city wall could not be found, and the door had to be nailed up from within. Of the other keys it was remarked that they were left in the possession of Balfour's people; and the conspirators appear, for more security, to have forged

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[1] "The hall was hung with five pieces of tapestry, part of the plunder of Strathbogie. It had a high chair or chair of state covered with leather, and a dais or cloth of state of black velvet fringed with black silk. The walls of the king's chamber on the upper floor were hung with six pieces of tapestry which, like the hangings of the hall, had been spoiled from the Gordons after Corrichie. The floor had a little Turkey carpet. There were two or three cushions of red velvet, a high chair covered with purple velvet, and a little table with a broad cloth or cover of green velvet, brought from Strathbogie. The bed, which had belonged to the queen's mother, was given to the king in August 1566. It was hung with violet-brown velvet, pasmented with cloth of gold and silver, and embroidered with ciphers and flowers in needlework of gold and silk. It had three coverlets, one being of blue taffeta quilted. . . . The wardrobe, which seems to have been on the upper floor, was hung with six pieces of tapestry, figuring a rabbit-hunt. Here there was a cabinet of yellow shot taffeta, fringed with red and yellow silk. In a chamber on the ground floor, directly under the king's chamber, there was a little bed of yellow and green damask, with a furred coverlet, in which the queen slept on the nights of Wednesday and Friday, and intended to sleep on the very night in which the king was murdered."—Queen Mary's Inventories, Pref. xcviii.-c.

From the same accurate pen we have the following estimate of the accommodation of the house: "The provost's place contained a hall, two chambers or bedrooms, a cabinet, a wardrobe, and a cellar, besides a kitchen, apparently under another roof. Of these rooms only three or four seem to have been furnished from Holyrood."—Ibid.

duplicates of them, in case they should have been required to give them up.[1]

Sunday, the 9th of February, was at last fixed for the great project, probably because, being the marriage-day

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[1] Buchanan, in his Detection, gives a hideously-eloquent description of the sordidness of the place; and as he appealed to a public who knew it as well as he did, he cannot well have gone beyond bounds:—

"Whidder then is he led? Into the maist desolate part of the towne, sumtyme inhabitit while the Papische preistis kingdome lestit, bot for certane yeiris past without ony dwaller, in sic a hous as of itself wald haif fallin downe, yif it had not bene botched up for the tyme to serve the turne of this nichtis sacrifice. Why was this place chiefly chosin? Thay pretend the helsumnes of air. O gude God! going about to murther hir husband, seikis scho for ane helsum air? To what use? Not to preserve his lyfe, bot to reserve his body to torment. Heirto tend hir wyfelie diligent attendance, and hir last cair of hir husbandis lyfe. Schoe feiris leist he suld, be preventing deith, be delyverit from pane, schoe wald fane have him feill himself die. Bot let us se what maner of helsumnes of air it is. Is it amang deid mennis graves to seik the preserving of lyfe? For hard by thair were the ruynes of twa kirkis: on the eist syde, ane monasterie of Dominike freiris; on the west, ane kirk of our Lady, whilk, for the desolatenes of the place, is callit the Kirk in the Feild; on the south syde, the towne wall, and in the same, for commodious passage every way, is ane posterne dure; on the north syde ar ane few beggeris cotages, then reddy to fall, whilk sumtime servit for stewis for certane preistis and monkis, the name of whilk place dois planely disclois the forme and nature thairof, for it is commounly callit the Theif Raw. Thair is never ane uther hous neir bot the Hammiltounis hous, whilk is about ane stanis cast distant, and that also stude voyde. Thether remuisit the Archebischop of Sanctandrois, wha alway befoir was wont to be ludgeit in the maist populous partis of the towne. He also watchit all that nicht the king was slane.

"Now I beseik yow, sen ye cannot with your eyis, yit at the leist with your myndes behald, ane hous whilum of auld preistis, amang graves, betwene the ruynes of twa tempillis, itself also ruynous, neir to the theifis hant, and itself ane resetter of theifis, not far from the fort and garrisoun of his enemeis, that stude richt over aganis the dure, be whilk yif ony man suld fle out, he culd not eschaip thair traterous ambuschment. The verray schape of this place, when ye considder in your mynd, when ye heir of the ruynes of kirkis, graves of deid men, lurking corneris of theifis, bordelhousis of harlotis,—dois not, I say, not the hous only, bot also everie part neir about it, seme to proclame mischeif and trecherie? Semis heir ane king to have gane into a hous for ludgeing, or to be thrust into ane den of theifis? Was

of the queen's favoured French domestic Bastiat to one of her women, the ceremonials and festivities of the occasion afforded opportunities for doing what was to be done. From the testimony and confessions afterwards taken, imperfect as they are, a clear enough history can be gleaned of the greater part of the doings of the active hands, even if we should exclude from consideration those portions in which they exculpate themselves, along with those which, as directly inculpating the queen, are maintained by her champions to be incredible.

To follow accurately the course of events, it is necessary to keep in view one or two specialties which will enable one to single out from existing Edinburgh the geography of the ground gone over. The town formed itself then on the two great thoroughfares running east and west, the High Street and the Cowgate. The city wall cut through on the line where St Mary's Wynd and Leith Wynd now meet at the foot of the High Street, and there stood the Canongate Port, the space between it and Holyrood being occupied by the suburb of Canongate. Where the wall passed the Cowgate, at the foot of the present St Mary's Wynd, was the Cowgate Port. The wall there kept the same southerly direction to a bastion or turret near the present Infirmary, where it turned at right angles, running west. The next break was the Potterrow Port, before reaching which it passed close on the grounds of the Kirk-of-Field, the nearest existing landmark to which is the present College.

The persons known beyond the arch-conspirator as having had an actual hand in carrying out the plot were, Nicholas Hubert, called French Paris, a creature of Bothwell's, whom he had brought from France and placed in the service of the queen; George Dalgleish and William Powrie, in Bothwell's service and confidence; Hepburn of Bolton, his relation; Patrick Wilson, his tailor or master of the robes; Ormiston, the laird of that ilk,

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not that desolate waistnes, that unhantit place, abill of itself to put simpill men in feir, to mak wyser men suspicious, and to give nouchtie men schrewit occasionis?"—P. 66-69.

and his uncle, called Hob Ormiston; and Hay, the heir of Talla, a district in the wildest part of the border mountains.

The first event noticed on Sunday was that Murray, after breakfast, bade a formal farewell to the queen as he was departing to join his wife; and Hubert, who took note of this, says he saw that that good man desired to be away while mischief was going on. The queen attended the marriage of her favourites, partook of the marriage-dinner, and then supped with the Countess of Argyle, apparently about four o'clock. Hubert, who stood behind a chair, says she was solicitous about a coverture of marten-skins which she had directed him, through Margaret Crawford, to remove the day before from the Kirk-of-Field. She asked him now if it had been removed, and he satisfied her that it had. Bothwell was among the guests; and when they rose, he went to his mother's apartments, attended by Hubert. They then went and found Ormiston and his uncle Hob, with whom they joined Hay and Hepburn on the street of the Canongate. Bothwell then took Hubert to the Kirk-of-Field, and gave him such directions that, when the others came to transact business there, he should be on duty in the king's chamber.

The rest returned to the abbey or palace, where it has to be observed that Bothwell had permanent apartments. In these a quantity of powder was stored in bags or "pocks." Two large receptacles were provided for the removal of these, one of them apparently a common trunk, the other a mail or travelling-trunk. These were carried by two horses, and it took two journeys to remove the whole. They were taken round by the outside of the wall. Near the Kirk-of-Field there was an old gate in the wall, called the Blackfriars Gate, not one of the regular occupied ports. Ormiston managed to get on the other side of the wall by the help of some ruins, and opened the gate. They had brought a cask with them to stow the powder in, but it was too large to get admission to the room where the train was to be laid. This room was the queen's bedroom, just under the king's, and her bed had to be shifted to make room for the train. It was brought in by the men in the original sackfuls, and this

appears to have been a long, silent process. Bothwell at one time feared that it might be heard in the room above, and with a fierce whisper enjoined more quietness. They were at a loss for light; and, among other incidents, we are told that they bought six halfpenny candles from Geordie Burns's wife in the Cowgate.

Powrie and Wilson took back the empty boxes, and on their way saw "the queen's grace, with torches before her," going along the Blackfriars' Wynd to join the king. This seems to have been about ten o'clock. It was understood that, according to recently-established practice, she was to sleep that night in the chamber under the king's. She went first, however, up to the king's chamber, passing the door of her own, like an affectionate wife, whose first care was her sick husband. There was general conversation in the room, in the midst of which she suddenly recollected that she had promised to attend the masked ball to be held in the palace in honour of Bastiat's marriage, and must be off immediately. She bade her husband a very affectionate farewell for the night, and departed. Had she gone into her own chamber, she would have seen the bed removed and the sacks of powder lying there. But she did not go to it; and it is for every one to conjecture whether it was or was not known beforehand that she would keep out of that apartment. To prevent stray intrusions, Hubert kept the key.

The queen and her attendants, including Bothwell, having gone, Hepburn of Bolton and Hay of Talla only of the conspirators remained. How they occupied themselves is now the chief mystery in the whole affair; and from subsequent circumstantial evidence it has been conjectured that the intended victim, with his page, discovered them, attempted to escape, and got even over a wall into a garden, when they were seized and strangled. They were found without any marks from the explosion, but *with* marks of other violence.

Bothwell went to his apartments in the palace and changed his black velvet hose and doublet of satin, both trussed with silver, for a coarser doublet and dark muffled cloak, such as the Schwartz-ritters wore, and passed forth.

accompanied by his immediate followers, Dalgleish, Hubert, Powrie, and Wilson. They were challenged by the sentinels on duty at the palace, but they said they were friends—friends of the Earl of Bothwell; and this powerful name silenced everything. They came to the Canongate Port, and finding it closed—for it was now twelve o'clock —called out to Galloway, the keeper, to open for friends of my Lord Bothwell; and here, again, there was immediate obedience. They took this way apparently that they might pick up Ormiston; but he managed not to be found, though he told in his confession that he was in bed asleep, and the rest went down by the Blackfriars. There Bothwell left his followers behind the wall, and joined Hepburn and Hay, who had already lighted the train. It seems to have been carefully laid, and burned so long that Bothwell, overcome by impatience, was on the point of going to look at it when the great crash came.

He was not a man to do things by halves; and he seems to have provided so large a train that the effect exceeded his expectation. Little was known then of the expansive force of gunpowder, and the extent of its destructiveness when confined within walls; and the building was so completely shattered, as to lead to the supposition that it had been systematically mined. The explosion shook the earth, and all Edinburgh was roused from sleep. The murderers had to escape rapidly, and it is probable that they may thus have been obliged to abandon a small detail necessary for the completion of their work in a satisfactory manner. Certainly they either intended to kill their victim by the explosion, or make it appear that he had been so killed. If he was killed in trying to escape, then of course it would have been desirable that the body should be taken back into the house, that it might, wherever it should be found, bear marks of the explosion, from which it was observed to be exempt. If he tried to escape, and was murdered after the lighting of the lint, it was too late to bring the body back; and, with all the world rushing to the spot, it was hopeless to remedy the matter after the explosion. The party were within the

town walls, and seemed desirous to escape through the streets by an outlet distant from the Kirk-of-Field. They attempted what they thought a weak part of the wall at Leith Wynd, but found it too high for them, and had to apply again to the keeper of the Canongate Port, who again yielded to the demand of the Lord Bothwell's friends, and let them pass. Bothwell got as rapidly as possible to his apartments in the palace, took a draught of wine, and tumbled into bed, to be roused, as if from slumber, half an hour afterwards, by a messenger informing him of the tragedy. He called out "Treason!" donned his garments, and went forthwith to the queen, along with Huntly, who joined him. It was then, apparently, between three and four o'clock.

Of the way in which the masked ball came off, we hear but little. It was probably a very gay and joyous affair; for Bastiat, in whose honour it was held, was a merry fellow, and especially expert at devising mummeries. It was he who, on the occasion of a Court pageant, had disturbed the equanimity of the English embassy, by the provocative manner in which his satyrs wagged their tails in the face of these grave personages. The mask was long over, and all had retired before the explosion roused them. Bothwell and Huntly, when they sought audience of the queen at an untimely hour, had of course the excuse of a general alarm; and ostensibly, it appears that they informed her that there had occurred an accident from gunpowder at the Kirk-of-Field, as to which immediate inquiry was promised. Bothwell, it appears, returned between eight and nine o'clock to inform her that she was a widow, and held audience with her within the curtain of her bed—a matter which the royal customs of the time render of no further moment than as it imported that the communing was close and secret, excluding all other of the queen's advisers.[1]

[1] Sir James Melville says that "Bothwell, when he came furth, told him that her majesty was sorrowful and quiet." He then told Melville that one of the most extraordinary things had come to pass —

Meanwhile a crowd gathered round the scene of the explosion, eager and anxious to find what the late dawn of the winter sun would reveal.

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that powder had come down from the "luft" or sky, and burnt the house of the king, whose body was found under a tree. He recommended Melville to go and see the body, and observed "how that there was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body;" but Sir James was not successful in his attempts to get access to the place where the body lay.—Memoirs, 174.

CHAPTER XLVI.

QUEEN MARY.

(*Continued.*)

THE MORNING AFTER THE MURDER—DOINGS AT HOLYROOD—FEELING OF THE PUBLIC—DISPOSAL OF THE MURDERED MAN'S BODY—SUSPICIONS AND ACCUSATIONS POINTING TO BOTHWELL—WHISPERS ABOUT THE QUEEN—CORRESPONDENCE WITH DARNLEY'S FATHER, WHO DEMANDS A TRIAL—HOW IT WAS EVADED—BOTHWELL ADVANCED AND FAVOURED—THE QUEEN GETS WARNINGS—SOJOURN AT SETON—THE SUPPER AT ANNESLY'S—THE BAND FOR BOTHWELL'S MARRIAGE WITH THE QUEEN—THE INTERCEPTION AND CARRYING OFF OF THE QUEEN TO DUNBAR—HER FORMAL ENTRY INTO EDINBURGH—BOTHWELL'S DIFFICULTIES AS A MARRIED MAN—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEIR REMOVAL, AND QUESTION IF THEY WERE LEGALLY REMOVED—HOW THE PROTESTANT PARTY AND THEIR CLERGY TAKE MATTERS—THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND BOTHWELL—THE MARRIED COUPLE—HER APOLOGY FOR HER CONDUCT.

THE smallest incidents at Holyrood immediately after the murder—the very inertness itself, almost reaching a sort of political paralysis—deserve close attention from their significance. It is useless to join in the common wonder, founded on the practice regarding crimes in the present day, why immediate investigation was not made as to the procuring and carrying of the powder, the making of the false keys, the movements of the perpetrators, and the like. The question was not so much who *could* speak, as who *would;* and the latter question would have to be decided by the tenor of political events. In fact all the world knew who were the doers of the deed. Among persons conspicuous in the history of the time there was one, and only one, person who seemed to be ignorant of

the party guiltiest of all. It was a knowledge along with which some entertained an approval of the deed, while others were prepared to employ it in punishment if they should have the opportunity. The one exception to this general admission was the queen, who could not or would not believe that her beloved follower was the great criminal.

Bothwell immediately did the part of the prompt and considerate friend, who in the hour of calamity relieves the bereaved of the irksome duties of the household. He took on himself, in fact, the functions of Governor of Scotland, and with immediate success; for there was nobody who could cope with one so prompt and audacious, supported as he was by the devout reliance of his royal mistress. As morning dawned, the citizens naturally continued to gather to the Kirk-of-Field. Bothwell sent a strong guard to the spot, and directed the bodies to be removed. During the day the ambassadors of France and Savoy desired an inspection of the king's body, which was refused. This was cited, along with other like instances, to show that the murderer was keeping out of sight the chief real evidence of his crime; but such suspicions are natural to such an event. They are caused by excitement and disappointed curiosity. In this instance there was little concealment or motive for it. No one pretended that the death had been accidental, or breathed a doubt that there had been murder.

Mary at first adopted the decorous gloom proper to her situation, and shut herself out from the world. It was a carriage not only blameless but laudable, yet it aptly served the purpose of him who was becoming the ruler of her actions. On the second day of her widowhood we have the earliest indication of the policy she intended to pursue. It is addressed to her worthy councillor, Beaton, the titular Archbishop of Glasgow, in whose eyes she ever wished to stand well. The letter is so significant that it is given in full:—

"Most reverend father in God, and trusty councillor, we greet ye well. We have received this morning your letters of the 27th January by your servant, Robert Dury,

containing in ane part such advertisement as we find by effect over true, albeit the success has not altogether been such as the authors of that mischievous fact had preconceived in their mind, and had put it in execution, if God in His mercy had not preserved us, and reserved us, as we trust, to the end that we may take a rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, which or it should remain unpunished, we had rather lose life and all. The matter is horrible and so strange, as we believe the like was never heard of in any country. This night past, being the 9th February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the king was lodged was in an instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with such a vehemence that of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remained, no, not a stone above another, but all either carried far away, or dung in dross to the very ground-stone. It mon be done by force of powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not as yet. We doubt not but, according to the diligence our Council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be usit shortly; and the same being discovered, which we wot God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with such rigour as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always, whoever have taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourself it was dressit as well for us as for the king; for we lay the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, and was there accompanied with the most part of the lords that are in this town that same night at midnight, and of very chance tarried not all night, by reason of some mask in the abbey; but we believe it was not chance, but God that put it in our head.

"We despatched this bearer upon the sudden, and therefore write to you the more shortly. The rest of your letter we shall answer at more leisure, within four or five days, by your own servant. And so for the present commit you to Almighty God. At Edinburgh the 11th day of February 1566-67."[1]

[1] Labanoff, ii. 3, 4.

The original of this letter is now lost, and we have not the means of knowing whether it was written in her own hand. The probability is that it was not.[1] But there is no doubt that it is her own. Whether her own device or that of her master, it was a bold stroke. It was to stamp at once the impression that she was to have been one of the victims, and that her own escape was a great marvel of the tragedy. This attempt was a failure. Circumstances at once showed that the safety of the queen was essential to the designs of the conspirators, and they were too expert to be likely to make any serious blunder. There is a secondary point in this letter, in which it agrees with the first impression made by the immediate aspect of the affair. She promptly assumes that the explosion came from a mine. This idea prevailed elsewhere, and the question of her good faith in starting it depends on whether she knew or did not know that the powder was piled in her own sleeping-room.

On Wednesday, two days after the discovery of the bodies, proclamation was made that a reward of two thousand pounds would be paid to any one who would reveal the author of the murder. Among the community, who knew perfectly the chief actor at least, none ventured to earn this money by an open denunciation; but a writing was affixed to the door of the Tolbooth or Parliament House, naming Bothwell, Balfour, and Chambers, and "black Mr John Spence," as the guilty persons. Another placard followed, naming as inferior actors in the tragedy, Signor Francis, Bastiat, John of Bordeaux, and Joseph Rizzio.

The event seems to have caused much more excitement among the citizens than its perpetrators expected. The age and the country were familiar with violent deaths. In France, Spain, and the Empire, the labours of the civilians had surrounded sovereigns with a sort of sanctity which claimed inviolability for their persons. Violence to monarchs was thus by degrees removed into a separate category from other outrages, and partook of sacrilege.

[1] See above, p. 59.

This doctrine had, however, but faintly penetrated to Scotland, where the people were practically familiar with stories of the death of kings. A party was arising who argued that rulers should be specially responsible for their misconduct; but then these were people of sober rigid walk, who abjured crime and violence, and demanded that the responsibility should be enforced with order and decorum. The method, too, of the deed, developing in an astounding manner the unknown, and it might be illimitable, powers of the mysterious chemical agent just added to the forces at the command of man, was far more adapted to rouse the populace than any common stabbing or hanging. The feelings of the citizens of Edinburgh rapidly heated up to strong excitement, and Buchanan mentions that voices were heard in the street at dead of night denouncing the murderers.[1] It was a natural result of the general excitement that those who dared not speak openly should give utterance in the dark, and also that midnight denunciations were heard with mysterious awe.[2]

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[1] As all the picturesque accounts of the state of the public mind at this time are taken from Buchanan, we will get at the clearest statement by taking his own words: "Leist the mater suld seme not to be regardit, out gais ane proclamation with rewardis promysit to him that culd gif information of it. But wha durst accuse the quene? Or (whilk was in maner mair perillous) wha durst detect Bothwell of sic ane horribill offence, specially when he himself was baith doer, judge, inquyrer, and examiner? Yit this feir whilk stoppit the mouthis of everie man in particulaire, culd not restrane the haill multitude in general; for baith be buikis set out and be pictures, and be cryis in the darke nicht, it was sa handillit, that the doeris of the mischevous fact micht esilie understand that thay secreitis of thairis wer cum abrode. And when everie man was now out of dout wha did the murther, and wha gaif furtherance unto it, the mair that thay laubourit to keep thair awin names undiscloisit, sa mekle the pepilis grudge restranit, brak out mair oppinlie."—Detection, Anderson, ii. 25, 26. More tersely it is put in his history: "Nam et libellis propositis, et pictura, et nocturnis per tenebras clamoribus effectum est, ut parricidæ facile intelligerent arcana sua nocturna in vulgus prodiisse."—Lib. xviii. 20.

[2] The street cries were important enough to have a place in political correspondence. On the 10th of April, Sir William Drury tells Cecil of a man—with four or five others to guard him—who nightly

Two days after the proclamation, the body of the murdered man was buried in the Chapel of Holyrood with a secrecy that attracted as much attention as any feature of the affair.[1] It is noted that on the day of the funeral Bothwell obtained an accession of fortune in a gift of the reversal of the feudal superiority over the town of Leith, and that Darnley's servant Drummond, who stood under heavy suspicion of treachery, got a pension and an office near the person of the infant prince.[2] Two days afterwards, on the Sunday after the murder, the queen went to Seton Palace, in Haddingtonshire, about twelve miles from Edinburgh.[3] There she had for her Court the ever-present Bothwell, with his supporters Argyle, Huntly, Seton their entertainer, Secretary Lethington, and John Hamilton, the restless Archbishop of St Andrews.[4]

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goes about certain streets crying, rather in an illogical shape, "Vengeance on those who caused me to shed innocent blood. O Lord, open the heavens and pour down vengeance on me and those that have destroyed the innocent."—Calendar of State Papers (Foreign).

[1] Those curious in such matters will find in the third volume of the Scottish Archæologia, p. 80, printed from the originals, the "Precepts issued on the death of Henry Darnley, King of Scotland, for perfuming his body, and for providing a mourning dress to Mary Queen of Scots on the occasion." A certain Martin Picauet acknowledges receipt of "quatre vintz livres Tourn pour lambanment de Roy." One would like to know whether Martin Picauet was so skilled in anatomy as to be likely to detect the method of the death of a corpse on which he practised the embalmer's art. These documents go for what they are worth in any questions both about the sordidness of the funeral and the desire to keep the body from inspection. In the paper in the Hopetoun MS. that goes by the name of "The Book of Articles," there is the following: "In manifest hatrent" "againis his daid body, she causit the same be brocht fra the Kirk of field to the said Chapell of Halyrud hous be certane soldiers, pynouris, and otheris vile personis, upoun ane auld blok of forme of tre; and after that the corps had lyne certain dayis in the chapell quhair alswa she beheld it, the same corps without any decent order was cast in the nyt without any ceremony or company of honest men."

[2] Malcolm Laing (Edit. 1804), i. 49.

[3] The best authority for the exact sequence of the events is the Diurnal of Occurrents.

[4] In the Diurnal of Occurrents, however, it is stated that she "left the Erlis of Huntly and Bothwill in the Palice of Halyrudhous, to keip the prince unto her returning."

The caterers for information to be sent to England picked up expressive stories of the way in which the group conducted themselves. The queen and Bothwell, it was said, amused themselves in shooting at the butts, and having together won a match against Seton and Huntly, the losers entertained the winners at dinner in Tranent.[1] What means that place possessed for entertaining royalty in the sixteenth century it were hard to say: it is now a smoky, cindery, colliers' village, rife with whisky-shops, and lately achieved notoriety, in the course of the Government sanitary inquiries, by its excessive filth and unhealthiness. The queen's vindicators are justified in holding that such a scene was much at variance with the usual decorum of her deportment, and the less partial will admit it to be inconsistent with her powers of dissimulation; but there remains the consideration that she was then the victim of an infatuation which broke through all the defences of her strong nature. However it be, she had presently more important matters to occupy her. The denunciatory placards were repeated, and Joseph Rizzio, Bastiat, and the other humble foreigners whose names appeared on these formidable documents, prudently managed one by one to slip out of the country, knowing that whatever turn matters took they must be in imminent peril.

A new actor now steps upon the scene—one likely to bring practical conclusions out of the general chaos of doubts, mysteries, and suspicions. The father of the murdered man demands justice, and calls on the widow, as the person who has the power, and ought of all others to be the most earnest towards that end, to take vigorous steps for the discovery of the guilty persons. The correspondence between the queen and old Lennox is among the most significant of all the tell-tale documents of that crisis, and is well worthy of careful examination. Unfortunately the beginning, a letter from Lennox and the

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[1] Drury to Cecil, cited by Tytler. That there were light doings at Seton is asserted also by Buchanan. In a diary of occurrences marked by Cecil (Forbes, ii. 269), it is said that at Seton she and Bothwell "passed their tyme meryly."

queen's answer, is lost. The reply of Lennox on the 20th of February is as reverential as, coming from the meanest of the queen's subjects, it could have been. He has received her most comfortable letter, for which he renders her highness most humble thanks, and he trusts never to deserve otherwise than as he has received of her highness's hands. Since she takes in good part his simple advice and counsel, he ventures to continue therein. As he sees that all the travail and labour she has manifested have hitherto come to naught, he makes bold to put his poor and simple advice in a practical shape, "that your highness wald with convenient diligence assemble the hail nobility and Estates of your majesty's realm; and they, by your advice, to take such order for the perfect trial of the matter," as he doubts not through God's grace shall so work on the hearts of her majesty and her faithful subjects as that the bloody and cruel actors of the deed shall be manifestly known. A sprinkling of piety there is towards the conclusion; but the last words have a touching simplicity, in desiring that she will bear with him should he seem troublesome, "being the father to him that is gone."

This appeal received prompt attention. It was written at Houston, in Renfrewshire, on the 20th of February, and the queen's answer left Seton next day. It was written in excellent taste, with such courtesy as a young sovereign might show to a venerable subject parentally related to her. The kindness and goodwill for which Lennox was so grateful were but her duty, and came of that natural affection, of which he might feel as assured himself at that time, and so long as God gave her life, as ever he had been since the beginning of their acquaintance. Then to business. For the assembly of the nobility and the other Estates of Parliament, which he recommended "for a perfect trial of the king our husband's cruel slaughter," she so entirely concurred in that plan, that before receiving his letter she had ordered a Parliament to be proclaimed, "where first of all this matter, being maist dear to us, sall be handlit, and nathing left undone whilk may further the clear trial of the same." This state paper does credit to the diplomatic skill of its

author. Lennox was at once taken up as desiring a formal meeting of Parliament. As of course something must be done, no step could be more desirable than that, since it was a matter of parade and delay, which would give a long breathing-time. The Estates, in fact, did not assemble until the 14th of April. What Lennox wanted was a general assembling of the chief subjects of the crown, that counsel might be taken among them, the hands of justice strengthened, and assurance given to those who were afraid to reveal what they knew.

The next letter from the old man slips into the tone of one who is angry at being made a mockery of. After short words of courtesy, he explains the misapprehension of his meaning. With a touch of sarcasm, he expresses his assurance that, although her highness is pleased to await the assembling of Parliament, she will feel the time as long as he does, until the matter be tried and the doers of the deed condignly punished. The matter is not for Parliament, but the criminal administration of justice; and "of sic wecht and importance, whilk ought rather to be with all expedition and diligence sought out and punished, to the example of the hail world." He reminds her that certain persons have been denounced on the Tolbooth door as the murderers, and comes to this practical conclusion: "I shall therefore most humbly beseek your majesty, for the love of God, the honours of your majesty and your realm, and well and quietness of the same, that it will please your majesty forthwith, not only to apprehend and put in sure keeping the persons named in the said tickets, but also with diligence to assemble your majesty's nobility, and then by open proclamation to admonish and require the writers of the said tickets to compear." If, assured of full protection, they failed to come forth and back their secret denunciations, then these would go for naught.

In the queen's next letter, dated the 1st of March, there is some fencing about the cross purposes concerning the Parliament. She did not mean that the affair was for the Parliament, or that it should lie over until the Estates met; "but rather wad wish to God that it might be

suddenly and without delay tried, for ay the sooner the better." Then coming to the point: "And where ye desire that we should cause the names containit in some tickets affixt on the Tolbooth door of Edinburgh to be apprehended and put in sure keeping—there is sa mony of the said tickets, and therewithal sa different and contrarious to [each] other in compting of the names, that we wit not upon what ticket to proceed." Perhaps this was the best subterfuge that could be found, but it was lamentably inferior to the subtle device in the previous letter. If Mary expected it to go for anything but an effort to gain time, this would strengthen the other evidence that the terrible strain on her nervous system was telling on her intellect. She ended by saying that, if he would intimate to her the names of any of the persons denounced whom he thought deserving of being brought to trial, she would direct them to be brought to trial according to law; "and being found culpable, sall see the punishment as rigorously execute as the weight of the crime deserves." On this hint Lennox spoke, and that plainly: "And for the names of the persons foresaid, I marvel that the same has been keeped frae your majesty's ears, considering the effect [purport] of the said tickets, and the names of the persons is so openly talkt of—that is to say, in the first ticket the Erle Bothwell, Master James Balfour, Mr David Chambers, and black John Spence; and in the second ticket, Seigneur Francis, Bastian, John de Bordeaux, and Joseph, Davie's brother, whilk persons, I assure your majesty, I for my part greatly suspect. And now your majesty knawing their names, and being the party—as well and mair nor I, although I was the father—I doubt not but your majesty will take order in the matter according to the weight of the cause, which I maist entirely and humbly beseek."

This bears date the 17th of March. On the 24th the queen intimated to him an entire compliance with his demands. Next week the nobles were to convene, and the persons denounced by the earl to be put to trial, and punished if guilty; and then comes an injunction such as would make one in Lennox's position ponder: "We pray

you, if your leisure and commodity may suit, address you to be at us here in Edinburgh this week approachand, where ye may see the said trial, and declare thay things which ye knaw may further the same; and there ye sall have experience of our earnest will and effectuous mind to have an end in this matter, and the auctors of so unworthy a deed really punished."[1]

Here there is a formidable change of tone, which was not without its sufficient cause. In the oscillations of immediate events the tables had been turned. The man sought as a criminal was himself the pursuer, and the accusers had to look to themselves.

It was consistent neither with the nature nor the designs of the man against whom so many accusations were levelled to act the part of the hunted hare. On the contrary, he took his stand as the great statesman—the actual governor of the realm, insulted by base and skulking calumniators, who dared not confront him. He swore vengeance against the authors of "the tickets;" and inquiry was made, or professed to be so, for their exposure and punishment. Picturesque descriptions were furnished to the English Court how, in his rage and defiance, he rode through the town of Edinburgh with fifty of his armed ruffians, and there before the multitude told how he would serve the authors of the tickets if he could find them.[2] As a small incident, showing the contempt with which such accusations were received, a pension was bestowed on the Signor Francis so often referred to, the grant being dated at Seton on the 20th of February.[3] For nearly a month there was inaction in Court while the story of accusation raged outside; and men passed from Bothwell, as the principal criminal, to seize on the name of one still higher. It is remarked that the Privy Council, the natural immediate resort on a political emergency, did

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[1] The text of these letters is completed by comparing Anderson's Collection and Keith's History with Labanoff, who gives the most reliable rendering of the queen's part of the correspondence.

[2] Letters cited in Tytler, vii. 74.

[3] Privy Seal Record, quoted, Laing, i. 50.

not assemble between the 12th of February, when the reward for the detection of the murderers was issued, and the 1st of March, when it met to transact mere routine business.[1] Another equally barren meeting was held on the 11th, where it is noticed that Murray was present.[2] He had the day before obtained leave to retire to France, and departed a few days later, not much to the regret, it may be believed, either of his sister or the man in whose hands he left her.

As to him, the career of Court prosperity, in which he had been advancing, now took a rapid run—it could not but compromise the giver as well as the receiver of the rewards; and that he should have pursued his fortune so eagerly at such a juncture, may be attributed either to the recklessness of his ambition and greed, or to the necessity of fortifying himself from the coming attack, as the governor of a threatened garrison seizes the latest opportunity afforded to him to run up fresh defences.

Meanwhile those who were near enough to the Court to see what went on there, found themselves driven to a new and astounding conclusion. They saw such distinct evidence of the queen's infatuated love for Bothwell that they believed she would marry him, and that the merely superficial impediment of his having a wife alive would be got over. There is little satisfaction in the accounts which those professing after the event to recall what they expected to happen say about their suppositions. We all like to be considered sagacious and prophetic; and the most candid will give a touch of strength to their anticipations when recording them after the event. We have, however, to the present point a narrative of incidents, small in themselves, but sufficient to show that there was a practical belief, even while they were enjoying holiday life at Seton, that these two would be united in wedlock. These incidents are given us in the Memoirs of Sir James Melville, where they follow on a remark that the "bruit" began to arise that the queen would marry the Earl of Bothwell, "who had six months before married the Earl

[1] Privy Seal Record, quoted, Laing, i. 50. [2] Laing, i. 55.

of Huntly's sister, and would part with his own wife;" "whereat," he continues, "every good subject that loved the queen's honour and the prince's security had sad hearts, and thought her majesty would be dishonoured, and the prince in danger to be cut off by him who had slain his father." He then tells how the Lord Herries, coming to Court, attended by fifty followers, on a special errand for the purpose, told her in the plainest terms the tenor of the rumours, "requesting her majesty most humbly upon his knees to remember her honour and dignity, and upon the security of the prince, whilk would all be in danger of tinsell in case she married the said earl, with many other great persuasions to eschew such utter wrack and inconvenients as that would bring on." Her majesty, it seems, marvelled at such bruits without purpose, "and said that there was na sic thing in her mind." Herries, having done what he deemed his duty, fled quickly with his followers to his own country, to evade the wrath of Bothwell.[1]

A story like this is always liable to be inaccurate; but in what follows Melville was himself a party, and must be correct, unless we charge him with wilful fabrication. He says he had made up his mind to speak to her majesty in the same terms as Herries. One Thomas Bishop, however, whom he describes as a Scotsman long resident in England, and a warm advocate of Mary's title to the English throne, anticipated his intention by writing a letter, which he desired Melville to show the queen. It took up the same tone as the warning by Herries, "but more freely, because he was absent in another country." Telling how the rumour of the coming event had penetrated to England, he assured her that if it came to pass she would lose her own reputation, the favour of God, and the kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland—"with many other dissuasions and examples of histories, whilks wald be ower lang to rehearse." He says that he showed the letter to the queen, as he was desired; and when she

[1] There seems to be no reference to this in the 'Memoirs' attributed to Herries.

had read it, she called out to Secretary Lethington that she had been shown a strange writing, "willing him also to see it." He asked what it was, and she said, "A device of his own, tending to the wreck of the Earl Bothwell." Melville continues, "He took me by the hand and drew me apart; and when he had read it, he asked what was in my mind, and said, 'So soon as the Earl Bothwell gets word, as I fear he shall, he will not fail to slay you.'" Melville muttered something about its being a sore thing to see that good princess running to utter wreck, and nobody to warn her; but Lethington, telling him he had done "more honestly than wisely," became more specific in his warning, and recommended Melville to be off before Bothwell should come up from his dinner. He took the advice, and says he was hotly pursued. He says the queen interceded for him once and again. On Bothwell's rejecting her first intercession, she "was miscontent, and told him that he would cause her to be left of all her servants." He then promised to spare Melville—so much influence had the siren still on the savage humour of her lord. Melville says that, when he afterwards saw the queen, he reverted to the matter, backing Bishop's counsel with his own. The last touch is curious, and carries an unsatisfied impression: "She said, matters were not that far agaitwart, but she had na will to enter in the terms."[1]

From other quarters come warnings equally significant. We have seen how the queen wrote to Beaton, her ambassador in France, endeavouring to stamp on the first news of the tragedy the impression that she had herself made a providential escape. He expresses in his answer his thankfulness that she has been preserved to take a rigorous vengeance for the crime committed, and then says, "Rather than it be not actually tane, it appears to me better in this warld that ye had lost life and all." Unless this be an implied rebuke on her pretence, he passes entirely the ideal danger, but presses on her solemnly the dangers that were real and imminent. All Europe rings with the ter-

[1] Memoirs, 175-177.

rible story and the wretchedness of poor Scotland; nay, people make free with her own name, and in short charge her with the deed. These are calumnies, no doubt; but they bring deep sorrow on all her faithful servants, and she must nerve herself to such action as shall for ever confute them. "It is needful," he says, "that ye show now rather than ever before, the great magnanimity, constancy, and virtue that God has granted you, by whose grace I hope ye sall overcome this most heavy envy and displeasure of the committing thereof, and preserve the reputation of all godliness ye have conqueshed of long, which can appear no way so clearly than that ye do such justice as the haill world may declare your innocence, and give testimony for ever of that treason that has committed, but fear of God or man, so cruel and ungodly a murther."[1]

It must ever be kept in view, as the key-note to all that preceded and followed, that never was wretched victim more distinctly and loudly warned of the gulf that was opening at her feet. She had still not finally committed herself at the date of a letter in which Kirkcaldy of Grange, writing to Lord Bedford, expresses his belief that the marriage will occur. He quotes a saying reported of the queen. Whether he gives it accurately or not, it imparts his belief in her infatuated devotion to the lord of her heart. It bore that "she cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for *him;* and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat before she leave him."[2]

The tone of the history of Scotland now takes a peculiar turn. Events on the surface contradict the tenor of the influences below; and the plot hurries on, like that of a romance or a drama, to be reversed when the unseen powers find their opportunity and reveal themselves. The death of Darnley was not an event to be regretted or very zealously avenged; but a new light sprang up in men's minds when they saw the mighty reward at which the chief actor aimed. Then, indeed, it was time for them to act too. In the mean time, however, their enemy was too

[1] Keith, 8vo ed., i. civ. [2] Quoted by P. F. Tytler, vii. 88.

strong; and the policy adopted was to let the evil destinies that ruled the land have their swing. Lethington, Morton, Lindsay, Murray, all the subtlest and boldest spirits of the day, were alike silenced for a time. The political conditions of the situation were unprecedented in Scotland. On some occasions the crown had been strong enough to bear hard on the great local potentates. In others, some potent feudal house had been able to defy the crown for a time. But here was a new combination, showing what might come of a connivance of the crown with the able, audacious, and unscrupulous head of such a feudal house. The result for a time was the existence, at least in the south of Scotland, of a despotism which it was hopeless to resist until the time for reaction came.

The first performance on the stage thus cleared for the movements of the great actors was the trial which was to cleanse the hero of the piece from all taint, and especially to put matters finally right at the foreign Courts, where an inconvenient amount of interest was shown about the recent transactions in Edinburgh.

The proceedings taken were exceptional and anomalous. The established practice was, when a criminal prosecution was determined on, for the crown to take the office of accuser, treating any persons who had been the first accusers or informers merely as witnesses. In the documents connected with Bothwell's trial Lord Lennox is brought up as the accuser, and the tenor of the procedure looks like an arbitration in a dispute in which he and Bothwell hold opposite sides. On the 28th of March the Privy Council gave instructions for the trial. There were nine councillors present: Bothwell himself; the Lords Huntly, Argyle, and Caithness; Leslie, Bishop of Ross; Gordon, Bishop of Galloway; Secretary Maitland; Stewart, the Treasurer; and Justice-Clerk Bellenden. The Act of Council appointed the 12th of April for the trial, and directed that Matthew, Earl of Lennox, be warned personally, or at his dwelling-place, as well as all others who came forward as accusers. Royal letters were issued for the citation of Lennox; and in these, instead of the crown, according to usual form, setting forth the accusation, in

name of the crown counsel it was stated that these gentlemen "are informed that our well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Matthew Earl of Lennox, father of our most dear spouse, has asserted that James Earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes and Crichton, &c., and some others, were the contrivers of the traitorous, cruel, and detestable murther," &c. As another reason for the proceedings, which kept up their tone as a settlement of a dispute rather than a trial of a murderer, is "the humble request and petition of the said Earl Bothwell made to us, and in our presence, offering to submit himself to a fair trial of what he is charged with." The messengers intrusted with the citation of Lennox made formal returns, importing that they did not get access to him personally, but took the usual means for making their citations public and notorious.[1]

Lennox did not appear. Sir James Melville says he was ordered by the queen to bring none with him but his own household. He had a body of men-at-arms—three thousand, it was said—prepared to follow him. And there is no doubt that the policy which allowed the accused to be undisputed master of the capital, obviated what would probably have been the most bloody of all the street-conflicts that had disturbed Edinburgh.

There exists a final letter from Lennox to the queen. As it bears date on the previous day, it may be questioned whether it was delivered before the trial. It pleads sickness as his reason for not appearing, but shows that he did not think himself safe in Edinburgh. He begs that the trial may be postponed until he can prepare his evidence, and convene his friends for his protection. He demands that, like other persons accused of crimes, those charged on this occasion shall be taken into custody; and throws out a taunt that, instead of being treated as suspected criminals, they are not only at liberty, but great at Court, where they enjoy her majesty's special countenance and protection.[2]

On the day of the trial a messenger arrived with a let-

[1] Anderson's Collections, i. 50; ii. 97-108.

[2] Ibid., i. 52.

ter from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, but in the confusion and excitement of the event of the day it is not known whether she received it.

From the same authority which mentions the arrival of this letter it has been inferred that the queen openly showed before the citizens her sympathy with the accused, as an affectionate wife might telegraph her good wishes to a husband going forth to a contest or other critical ordeal.[1] But these specialties are of small moment beside the larger facts, among which the most significant is that Bothwell had four thousand armed men on the streets—an overwhelming force in itself—in addition to his command of the Castle of Edinburgh.

The proceedings of the day were pedantically formal. The Earl of Argyle presided as Justiciar. Fifteen jurymen were impannelled, according to the practice of Scotland, and the Earl of Caithness was chosen their chancellor or foreman. John Spence, the queen's advocate, and Robert Crichton, appeared for the prosecution. Still, however, the distinction was kept up, that it was not a case taken up by the crown, but a contest with Lennox, who was called upon to appear as a party. There came forward a gentleman of his household, Robert Cunningham, who explained that the earl could not appear in safety, and protested against the proceedings, should they end in the acquittal of those notoriously known to have been the murderers of the king. To meet this, the earl's letters demanding a speedy trial, were read and recorded, and the court solemnly decided to proceed with business; "and therefore the said Earl of Bothwell being accused by the said dittay of the crime aforesaid, and the same being denied by him, and referred to the deliverance of the said assize, they removed furth of the said court, and altogether convened; and after long reasoning had by them upon the said dittay, and points thereof, they, and ilk ane of them for themselves, voted, delivered, and acquitted the said James Earl of Bothwell of art and part of the said slaughter of the king."

[1] Documents quoted by Tytler, vii., App. v.

Through the pedantic formality of the proceedings it is visible that the jury did not like what they were set to do. It was a practice of the time to put jurors on trial for false verdicts, or, as it was termed, "wilful error." Lord Caithness and the rest of the jurors had honesty and courage enough to record a protest that they ought not to be liable to such an ordeal for acquitting the person accused before them, because not a particle of evidence was given in—there was nothing whatever put before them but the indictment. They therefore had no alternative but to acquit. The chancellor of the jury was at the same time so punctilious as to insist on having it recorded that this their verdict was not founded on a quibble which the indictment put at the service of the jury, by stating the date of the crime as the 9th of February; "for that in deed the murther was committed the next day, being the x day, in the morning at two hours after midnight, whilk in law was, and ought to be, truly accompted the x day."

A careful study of the proceedings—so much of them as we have—leaves the impression that judges and jury were anxious to put on record what would tell that, if there were a defeat of justice, it was not their fault. They could not be blamed for their acquittal of the accused—they had everything, resting on the maxim that rigidity of form is the safety of the innocent, to justify them. All they had was an accusation put into shape. No evidence was called to justify the accusation, and so the jury acquitted. If the world knew no more than the record of the trial, nothing would seem more fair and appropriate. The affair ended in a bravado, the acquitted man offering, by public cartel, to fight, after the old way of the ordeal of battle, any one who should still charge him with the murder.[1]

The Estates met on the 14th of April; and were one to judge solely from the internal evidence of the formal procedure, never did Parliament assemble under conditions of more quietness and order. Yet it might be

[1] The record of the trial in State Trials, i. 902.

fancied that, in the very cautiousness of all its transactions, there were symptoms of apprehension that a storm was coming. It was a Parliament of precautions and confirmation of acquisitions. It began by exonerating Erskine of the command of Edinburgh Castle, acknowledging that he had held his trust as a good and true soldier, and would never be liable to question for what he had done in the course of his duty. There comes next an Act in favour of religious peace and toleration. It narrates how thoroughly the queen had kept her word, in her promise not to attempt anything contrary to the religion which she found "publicly and universally standing at her arrival;" for which all her subjects who have so enjoyed the rights of conscience in peace shall have occasion to praise God for her good, happy, and gracious government, and crave of Him, from the bottom of their hearts, that He would, of His infinite goodness, prosper and bless her majesty and her posterity with long life, and good and happy government to rule and reign over them. We have not here the equivocation of supporting the Church by law established as in the Act of 1563. But through its multifarious clauses, promising and reiterating protection to the persons referred to in the exercise of their religion, there is an exceeding care to avoid any specific definition of what that religion is, whether by the use of the nomenclature or the characteristics of Protestantism, or by the points of its difference from the Church of Rome. Such as it was, Bothwell had the credit of having gained this boon to his own ecclesiastical party. It did not propitiate them, however. If, as it would seem, he expected to secure to himself the Reformation party, he was signally defeated. They were becoming the champions of Puritanism as well as Protestantism, and looked askance at murder, though the victim was a Papist and the doer one of themselves.

There were several ratifications of gifts of private estates. Lethington looked after himself on this occasion; and David Chambers, one of the Lords of Session, was rewarded with domains "for the good, true, and obedient service done in all time past to her majesty's

honour, well, and contentment," and that through imminent peril and danger. He was an able man, a jurist and historian, writing both in French and Latin; but he was a creature of Bothwell's, and so vehemently suspected of participation in the murder, that his name appeared on the midnight placards. Morton and Murray were confirmed in their acquisitions at great length; so was the queen's other illegitimate brother, Robert, the Commendator of Holyrood House. There were several other such ratifications, the most significant of which was the virtual restoration to Huntly of a large portion of the old domains of his house. He was expected to reciprocate in services of a peculiar kind. Bothwell, of course, comes in for his share of the royal bounty. In general terms his right is confirmed to all and sundry "his lordships and barony of Hailes, Crichton, and Liddesdale; and all others his lands, lordships, baronies, castles, towers, fortalices, mills, fishings, woods, parts, pendicles, &c., together with the offices of admiralty of Scotland, and the offices of the sheriffships of Edinburgh principal, and within the constabularies of Haddington and Lauderdale." But there was a more special object in the ratification, narrating her highness's regard and consideration "of the great and manifold good service done and performed, not only to her highness's honour, well, and estimation, but also to the commonwealth of this realm and lieges thereof," by which he "superexpended himself" and burdened his lands. Most of his great territories he had from his ancestors; but, as we have already seen, by his own extravagant living, succeeding that of his father, he became hard pressed for available means, and the estates were heavily burdened. The object of the ratification was to amend this defect; and to enable him to support his rank as Governor of the Castle of Dunbar, certain lands in its neighbourhood, apparently of considerable agricultural value, were vested in him. His wealth and power were now enormous. He had the command of Edinburgh Castle and of the county of Edinburgh, with Haddington and Lauderdale. The two great feudal towers, still remaining, twelve miles from Edinburgh,

Crichton and Borthwick, were his. He had the original possession of his family—Hailes—and the friary lands of Haddington. This almost joined his lordship round Dunbar, where he commanded a strong fortress. Another, the Hermitage, guarded his estates in Liddesdale, which were almost joined to the rich possessions of Melrose Abbey in the vale of Tweed; and he was Warden of all the three marches, and Lord High Admiral.[1]

One significant feature in the legislation of the session was for the suppression of the anonymous denunciations which had been so troublesome. Any person first seeing or finding such a document was to destroy it, otherwise he would be punished as an accessory to its promulgation. This was no novel effort of ingenuity; it was, in fact, the old Roman law of *famosi libelli*, and the Act was little more than a translation of the provisions which may be found in the 47th book of the Pandects.

Parliament rose on the 19th. On the afternoon of that day there was a great supper of the influential members in a tavern owned by a man named Annesly. They had the distinction to be surrounded by an armed guard of Bothwell's followers. Suppers were at that time, like state dinners of the present day, a suitable occasion for political movements. This one began at four o'clock, and went, amidst much carousal, pretty deep into the night. Before the revellers separated a document was presented for their acceptance, drawn up with that special skill for such draftsmanship which Balfour had more than once exhibited. It contained, in the first place, an assertion of

[1] The editor of Queen Mary's Inventories has added a very curious item to valuables with which Bothwell was then endowed, in certain articles which, however his other acquisitions came, must have been the gifts of the queen's own hand. There is an entry—"ten pieces of caps, chasubles, and tunicles," taken from Huntly's castle, whither they had been sent from the Cathedral of Aberdeen for their safety. On these the recipient notes: "In March 1567, I delivered three of the fairest, whilk the queen gave to the Lord Bothwell; and mair, took for herself ane cap, a chasuble, four tunicles, to make a bed for the king—all broken and cut in her own presence."—P. 53. Here the object of the gift is not so remarkable, as that so zealous a devotee of the Church should have turned ecclesiastical robes into secular clothing

Bothwell's innocence, and a resolution to hold it against all impugners. There is next an obligation, in the usual tenor of bonds of manrent, to stand by Bothwell in all his quarrels. Then comes last the great stroke. In case his distinguished services to her majesty, "and his other good qualities and behaviour," should move her to condescend to receive him as her husband, all the undersigned determine to further and promote such a marriage to the utmost of their capacity; and they recommend it as a proper step to be taken for the public good in the widowed condition of the queen. That there was shown to the assembled magnates a writing expressive of the queen's desire for the match is a disputed question. What is, however, a lamentable fact is, that the document was adopted by a meeting of the first men in the country. This is an affair which not only lacks sufficient explanation, but scarcely affords material for a plausible theory. Simple coercion will hardly account for it. Among the men there assembled the vices were many and grave, but poltroonery was not conspicuous among them. It was noticed that next morning the bulk of them rapidly dispersed to their separate territories, leaving the political epoch to its own development.[1]

Events now followed each other rapidly, and thickened to a conclusion. On the 21st of April the queen went to Stirling to visit her child; and so dangerous a repute did she carry with her, that Mar the governor was frightened into vague fears about his precious charge, and would not permit the mother to bring into his presence any other attendants than two of her women.[2] Bothwell pre-

[1] Anderson's Collection, i. 107-111, iv. (part ii.) 60. There are lists of the parties to this manifesto; but they are given from memory, and not to be depended on. The name of Murray, for instance, occurs in them, though, apart from all question of probability, he was absent from Scotland at the time.

[2] Of the written gossip flying about among the statesmen of the period, the following may be taken as a specimen rather above the average in picturesque extravagance: "At the queen being at Stirling, the prince being brought unto her, she offered to kiss him, but he would not, but put her away, and did to his strength scratch her. She offered him an apple, but it would not be received of him, and

pared to intercept her on her return, and whether this was done by her own connivance is one of the secondary questions in the great controversy. Whether or not she was aware of the enterprise, it was so well known to others that, between her departure and return, one of the Edinburgh correspondents of the English Court writes to say that the Earl of Bothwell has gathered a body of men professedly to ride to the border, but the writer believes that presently after he writes they will be employed to intercept the queen and take her to Dunbar; and he sarcastically asks the receiver of the letter to judge whether this be with her will or not.[1] Sir James Melville in his Diary drily says he was told by Captain Blackadder that the queen was seized by her own consent, but he does not give us the benefit of his own comment on this assertion. Hubert, the French page, says in his testimony or confession that, on the evening before the seizure, the queen sent him from Linlithgow with letters to Bothwell, who bade him in answer assure her majesty that he would meet her on the road at the bridge. Bothwell took with him eight hundred spearmen to the western entrance of Edinburgh; he had military resources at his disposal which, for any such enterprise as he had on hand, might be called inexhaustible. The spot where he met the queen is now called Fountainbridge, a sort of mixed suburb to the west of the old town of Edinburgh, having to the south the new suburbs of Greenhill and

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to a greyhound bitch having whelps was thrown, who eat it, and she and her whelps died presently. A sugar-loaf also for the prince was brought at the same time—it is judged to be very ill compounded. There is a witch in the north who affirms the queen shall have yet two husbands. Arbroath shall be the second. The Duke [Bothwell] shall not live a year at the most. In the fifth husband's time she shall be burnt, which death divers speak of to happen to her, and it is said she fears the same."—Drury to Cecil, 20th May 1567; Calendar of State Papers (Foreign).

[1] Cited by P. F. Tytler, vii. 88; Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 24th April. The unknown writer leaves the unknown receiver to make out his correspondent by mysteriously announcing the letter to be written "by him that is yours who took you by the hand at midnight."

Merchiston, and to the north the western verge of the new town. The affair passed quietly.[1]

It is provoking when men who have partaken in critical events tell of them, and yet tell so sparingly and drily as to leave a world of untold matter which every reader longs to know; but such are often the very points on which practical men's words are fewest, because they do not like to commit themselves. Sir James Melville, who has left so many lively sketches of more trifling matters, was one of the queen's escort on the occasion, and he tells us nothing more than that "the Earl Bothwell was in her gait with a great company, and took her majesty by the bridle. His men took the Earl of Huntly, the Secretary Lethington, and me, and carried us captives to Dunbar; all the rest were letten go free." Next day Melville himself was released; so that, if he held his tongue about what was afterwards done within the grim fortress, he disappointed no just expectations. A young and lovely princess taken captive and immured in the fortress of a profligate and unscrupulous baron, is one of the most approved elements of old romance, giving room for the imagination to revel in all horrors and tyrannies. On the question whether or not the queen was treated with violence in Dunbar Castle there is no end of speculation, but there is very little means of distinct knowledge. To the shifting unsatisfactory character of all foundations for a conclusion she herself added, by expressions which were intended, and with subtle skill adapted, to raise a doubt about her exemption from personal violence, and to leave that doubt unsolved.

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[1] Buchanan finds a very subtle plot in the "Ravishment." It was desirable, all things considered, that Bothwell should be furnished with the technical protection of a royal pardon. It was the practice in such documents to set forth the principal crime committed by the malefactor, that the boundaries of the indemnity might be fully defined, and to slump minor offences in a general definition. It was not expedient to name the murder of her husband; but a treasonable attack on her own person was a very heavy crime, and by a little sophistry might be made out to go further than the other, so as to leave it in the group of minor offences.

The next step was to rid Bothwell of the burden of his existing wife, and make him free to take another In the letter in which the English statesmen are told of the intended seizure, they are also told of the intention to separate Bothwell from his wife—so well was it known that this was to be, although the method might not be exactly anticipated. Since it had to be forced through, the method adopted is instructive about the state of the public institutions of Scotland at that time, as well as of the character of the persons concerned. The old power of the Romish hierarchy to judge in matters of marriage and divorce as part of the canon law was abolished by the Acts of 1560, which abolished the Papal supremacy. As there was at first no distinct substitute for the power so exercised, some inconvenience was felt. By a suppliant to the Court of Session in 1562, it was represented "that, because the consistorial jurisdiction is abolished, the said complainer could get no cursing"—that is to say, no civil process followed on the excommunication which the ecclesiastical court could launch against the person who had wronged him in a matter in which the canon law, as administered by the old hierarchy, would have given him redress.[1] To fill up the gap thus caused in the administration of civil justice, a court of four commissaries was erected by royal authority in 1563, and was recast in 1566. In this court Bothwell's wife sued out a divorce against him on the ground of adultery; and it appears to have been very easy to find, on an analysis of her husband's actions, enough to justify a decision in her favour. Sentence of divorce was accordingly pronounced against him, at the instance of his wife, on the 3d of May.[2]

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[1] Riddell's Peerage and Consistorial Law, 427.

[2] The marriage with Lady Jane Gordon was on the 22d of February 1566, so that she was his wife for a year and two months. It is curious to trace, in the pages of the genealogists, the after-life of one who was in a manner drifted in among the stormiest incidents of her day, and then after a short interval floated off into calm waters. She lived to an old age, which left far behind all the political conditions of her first-married life, and passed through successive scenes performed by successive relays of actors. She had her vicissitudes, but the way in which she took them showed a quiet spirit, fitted to

The exceptional condition, however, in which her destined successor stood, made something more necessary for the satisfactory conclusion of the affair. The superseding of the bishop's court by that of the commissaries was occasioned by those reforming Acts to which the queen had never given the royal assent, which she believed consequently to be invalid, and which everybody believed she in her secret heart intended to repudiate when the proper time came. Farther, by the doctrine of her own Church, and the practice of the old consistorial tribunal in Scotland, separation of man and wife for adultery was not that nullifying of the marriage which permitted the divorced person to marry again.[1] It was therefore desirable to get the marriage annulled under the old law, and by the old hands, on such grounds as would admit of Bothwell marrying again. There were many difficulties in the way of this, and the steps taken to overcome them make a rather complicated history.

According to the view of the queen, and doubtless of all sincere followers of her Church, the Acts abolishing the power of the Romish hierarchy were a nullity; but it would not do to publish such a view by acting on it, and that on a very critical and conspicuous occasion. By a warrant of the queen, acting under her notions of prerogative, the consistorial authority was formally restored, with the Archbishop of St Andrews as its head. This court was constituted in the month of December 1566, and therefore that act in itself cannot have been done, as historians generally say it was, for the special purpose of carrying out this divorce. It was, in fact, an attempt following up the triumph of the Romish party—a trial

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make the best of existing conditions. The account given of her in Wood's Peerage, after her first marriage is disposed of in proper form, is,—"Secondly, 13 December 1573, to Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland, and had issue; thirdly, to Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne; and died in 1629, *ætat.* eighty-four. She was a lady of great prudence."

[1] The General Assembly in 1566 desired the resumption of this principle—viz., that the culpable party in such a divorce should not be free to marry.—Book of the Universal Kirk, 54.

how far a quiet step could be safely taken for the restoration of old things. It did not pass in silence, for the Reformed Church uttered a loud testimony against it. The General Assembly memorialised the Privy Council, saying that although the commission included some of themselves, "yet can the Kirk noways be content that the Bishop of St Andrews, ane common enemy to Christ, use that jurisdiction, and also in respect of that coloured commission he might again usurp his old usurped authority." They attribute it to their own negligence that Satan had so far prevailed within the realm of late days. "We therefore," they say, "in the fear of our God, and with grief and anguish of heart, complain unto your honours; yea, we must complain unto God, and to all His obedient creatures, that that conjurit enemy of Jesus Christ and cruel murtherer of our dear brethren, most falsely styled Archbishop of St Andrews, is reponed and restored by signature to his former tyranny." They strongly suspect that the end of such things will be "to cure the head of that venomous beast whilk once within this realm, by the potent hand of God, was so banished and broken down that by tyranny it could not hurt the faithful." And then follow some protestations, instructive in communicating to us the constitutional notions prevalent at the time. "The danger may be feared, say ye; but what remedy? It is easy, and at hand, Right Honourable, if ye will not betray the cause of God and leave your brethren, whilk never will be more subject to that usurped tyranny than they will unto the devil himself. Our queen belike is not well informed. She ought not, nor justly may not, break the laws of this realm; and so, consequently, she may not raise up against us, without our consent, that Roman Antichrist again, for in ane lawful and free Parliament as ever was in the realm before was that odious beast deprived of all jurisdiction, office, and authority within this realm." [1]

The new tribunal thus protested against did not supersede the Protestant court, and does not seem to have

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk.

transacted judicial business.[1] Its history stands by itself entirely clear of the great personal question of the day. In fact, before the severance of Bothwell from his wife could be accomplished, Mary had to come personally forward and issue a special authority for that end.

On the 27th of April a special commission was issued authorising the archbishop and certain other clergy to give judgment in an action of divorce by the Earl Bothwell against the Lady Jane Gordon, on the canonical ground of relationship within the fourth degree of consanguinity, and the celebration of marriage without the necessary dispensation.[2] So rapidly did this tribunal get through its one piece of work, that the proceedings, begun on the 5th of May, were finished by judgment of divorce on the 7th. The peerages and genealogies will be searched in vain for the evidence of propinquity. But this is immaterial. Elsewhere it has been found necessary at some length to explain the doctrine and practice by which the old Church carried the rules of prohibition and the occasion for ecclesiastical dispensation far beyond the scope of the legal and decorous alliances on which pedigrees are raised. The matter revealed in such inquiries is not so attractive as to call for repetition.[3] Let it suffice, therefore, that to ap-

[1] The "signature" or commission under the sign-manual restoring the consistorial jurisdiction of the archbishop is in the Register of the Privy Seal (vol. xxxv. 99). It is in absolute terms, superseding the authority of the Commissaries and the Court of Session, and providing compensation for the judges of that court, whose salaries partly consisted of commissariat fees. It bears date 23d December 1566. The remonstrance of the Assembly bears date 27th December. It is addressed to the Privy Council, requesting them to "stay" the commission. The record of the Great Seal, which, however, is imperfect, does not contain the completed commission, nor is there any evidence of its having been accepted by the Privy Council. From this, and the circumstances mentioned in the text—viz., the proceedings before the Commissaries and the separate commission to the archbishop to adjudicate in the special case—it may be questioned whether the restoration of the archbishop's jurisdiction passed through all the proper forms, or was, on the other hand, "stayed."

[2] Riddell's Peerage and Consistorial Law, 433.

[3] See chapter xxxvii. The adaptation of the law to this important occasion is very explicitly set forth by Riddell.—Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Scottish Peerages, 432 *et seq.*

pearance in this, as in the other process, Bothwell was favoured by his extensive participation in the prevalent vices of the day. His wife could not only divorce him for his conduct since their marriage, but there had been conduct before the marriage sufficient to render it null unless it were specially protected.

There might be a latent difficulty, however. It was the policy of the Church, in stretching her authority over the social as well as the religious condition of the people, to find a method of counteracting every power she exercised. If she helped those who were eager to break the marriage-tie, she could protect those who desired to make it indissoluble. Hence it was customary for the prudent relations of a bride to obtain a Dispensation from the nullifying influence not merely of actual propinquity, if such there were, but of anything that might be founded on the vicious life led by the other party. We find Buchanan asserting that such a Dispensation had been obtained on the marriage of Bothwell with Lady Jane Gordon, and that it was abstracted or concealed: as the charge stands in the vernacular version, "All this while they kept close the Pope's bull, by whilk the same offence was dispensed with."[1]

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[1] Buchanan's statement is: "Apud judices Papisticos, ordinum quidem decreto vetitos, tamen ab Archiepiscopo Sancti Andræ ad hanc caussam cognoscendum datos, accusatur, quod ante matrimonium *cum propinqua uxoris stupri consuetudinem habuisset:* celato interim Pontificis Romani diplomate, quo venia ejus culpæ facta erat." —Detectio, Jebb, i. 248. A portion of the proceedings in both suits is given by Principal Robertson in his Appendix, No. 20. In the process before the Commissaries, a certain Bessie Crawford has a story to tell, which removes all difficulties. As appropriate to the whole occurrence, the French ambassador commented on the peculiar facilities for divorce in Scotland: "Ilz ont une coustume estrange en Angleterre, mais plus prattiquée en Escosse, de pouvoir se répudier l'un l'aultre quant ilz ne se trouvent bien ensamble;" and then he cites instances.—Teulet, ii. 157. But that the French too were familiar with such things, is shown by an apt case in point. When, on Queen Mary's first widowhood, the Duke of Aumale was making love to her, the gossips of the Louvre had it that she would marry him if he were free—"qu'elle declara, qu'elle l'epouseroit, si par la mort de sa femme, Antoinette de la Marck fille du Duc de Bouillon, ou autrement, il rentroit en liberté de se rémarier."—Mem. de Castelnau, i. 528. The gossips were at fault, for, as we have seen, the young

In the process for the dissolution of the marriage it is expressly set forth that no dispensation had been obtained, and the statement to the contrary was generally set down as one of Buchanan's calumnies. Later inquiries, however, show that such a dispensation existed, that it was granted by Archbishop Hamilton in virtue of his legatine powers, and that, although he did not bring it up to interrupt the divorce, it was preserved, whether through his connivance or not. This dispensation has recently been discovered. By her for whom it was obtained as a protection from possible calamities, it had been retained at the time when events so strange and unexpected rendered it desirable to others that it never had existed. The repudiated wife of Bothwell had quietly taken the document with her to the scene of her changed fortunes, and after slumbering for three hundred years, the dispensation was found among other genealogical documents preserved in the muniments of the house of Sutherland.[1] It is certain, then, whatever we may infer from that certainty, that the conditions necessary by the rules of her own religion to render Queen Mary the lawful wife of Bothwell had not been fulfilled.

The affair of the divorces was adjusted, though not con-

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widow had other designs; but it is clear that the duke's having a wife was considered only a temporary impediment to such a marriage if the two desired it.

[1] "Letters of Dispensation by John, Archbishop of St Andrews, Papal Legate in Scotland, in favour of James, Earl of Bothwell, and Lady Jean Gordon, sister-german of George, Earl of Huntly, being within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, dated 13th March 1565." (Second report Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, p. 177.) No one can anticipate, in anything relating to Queen Mary, how wide may be the discussions to be opened by this discovery. The discoverer, Dr John Stuart, says: "The document now discovered proves that a dispensation was regularly procured before marriage; and as we find that Lady Jean Gordon did not found on it in the consistorial proceedings before the archbishop (which ended in the divorce), and it would seem to have been in her custody throughout, and to have been carried by her to Dunrobin when she was married to the Earl of Sutherland in 1573, the inference is, that her consent had been gained to the divorce either at the instance of the queen or of her own husband."—Ibid.

cluded, while the queen was still in Dunbar Castle. On the day when the Protestant divorce was issued, the two entered Edinburgh with a large body of followers, who on the journey threw away their arms, to give the assemblage the appearance of a peaceful pageant. On the 12th occurred one of those curious pieces of pedantic formality which accompany the several steps of this wild story. It was said that the supreme courts of law had doubts whether their proceedings were valid while the queen, in whose name they acted, was a captive. Whether or not they really experienced such doubts, the opportunity was taken for a solemn proclamation of their groundlessness. It is on record in the proceedings of the Court of Session, which mentions the presence of the prelates, the high officers of state, and the Provost of Edinburgh. The "declaration of the queen's liberty" followed that equivocal tone in which she all along spoke of the affair: "Albeit her highness was commovit for the present time of her taking at the said Earl Bothwell, yet since syne, by his guid behaving towards her highness, and haifing sure knowledge of his thankful service done by him in tyme bygone, and for mair thankful service in tyme coming, that her highness stands content with the said earl, and has forgiven and forgives him and all others his complices." Hence she intimated that she was minded to promote him to further honour for his services foresaid.[1] The first instalment of the further honour made its appearance on the same day, when he was created Duke of Orkney and Shetland.

And now the wedding was to come on. Some of the preliminaries had already been adjusted. To those who knew the character of the queen, the tendency of these must have been the most astounding evidence yet furnished of the absoluteness of the mastership that had been established over both her heart and her intellect. No man's life could more thoroughly deride the Puritanic religion professed by him than Bothwell's; yet he, an adventurer eagerly grasping at the advancement in his reach, would

[1] Acts of Sederunt.

take it in no other than the Protestant form—while she, the bigoted devotee of the old Church, who was sacrificing everything else, sacrificed this too, and accepted the new form. The ecclesiastical functions proper to the occasion would have rested with Knox. He, however, was absent, a thing to be regretted by all who would desire to add an additional touch of picturesqueness to the scene. His assistant John Craig, however, represented him pretty faithfully. Craig proclaimed the banns from his pulpit, and when afterwards called in question for doing so by the General Assembly, he gave this account of the transaction. He had refused to make the proclamation, when a messenger came from the queen to desire it. Being afterwards shown a command under her hand, he consulted his session or congregational court. Their discussion seems to have been strong; but the conclusion come to was, that the intention of the sovereign might be announced, leaving the final responsibility on those who should carry out such intentions; and Craig, in giving effect to this view, argued ingeniously enough that, if the act to be carried out was so outrageous and abominable as it was pronounced to be, it was doing good service to give the world previous warning of the intention to perpetrate it; and it was not his proclaiming, but the silence of others, that permitted the event to come to pass. The session came at the same time to a resolution that they could neither assist in nor approve of such a marriage, as it was contrary to a resolution of the General Assembly to unite again in wedlock a person divorced for misconduct. He made it, he says, a condition of the proclamation, that he should declare his mind to Bothwell himself in the presence of the Privy Council. It seems to have been thought prudent to submit to this; and Bothwell had to listen to a castigation, for his conjugal misconduct and other irregularities; "the suspicion of collusion betwixt him and his wife; the sudden divorcement and proclaiming within the space of four days; and last, the suspicion of the king's death, whilk his marriage wad confirm." The object of this tirade naturally enough, as its author says, "answerit nathing to my satisfaction." Craig

threatened to carry his views before a more congenial audience; and he kept his threat next Sunday, when from the pulpit, as he says, "I took heaven and earth to witness that I abhorred and detested that marriage, because it was odious and scandalous to the world; and seeing the best part of the realm did approve it either by flattery or by their silence, I desired the faithful to pray earnestly that God would turn it to the comfort of this realm that thing whilk they intended against reason and good conscience." On this he was called before the Council for having passed the bounds of his commission, and there, still following his own narrative, "I answered, the bounds of my commission whilk were the Word of God, good laws, and natural reason, were able to approve whatsoever I spake; yea, that their own conscience could not but bear witness that sic a marriage wad be odious and slanderous to all that should hear of it, if all the circumstances thereof were rightly considered."[1]

On the 14th, the day before the marriage, two documents were executed. One of them was a short assurance by the queen, that the persons who had signed the bond urging Bothwell on her as a husband should never be called in question for doing so. It is doubted whether the bond referred to is that signed at the celebrated supper, or one of later date. The other paper is a contract of marriage. It is cleverly and plausibly drawn, probably by that accomplished draftsman Balfour, and manages with much skill to neutralise the inequality of the match between the widow and "the right noble and potent prince, James, Duke of Orkney, Earl Bothwell, Lord Hailes, Crichton, and Liddesdale, Great Admiral of this realm of Scotland." With equal skill it throws the responsibility of this step on the distinguished persons who recommended it, and represents her majesty as yielding, after full consideration, to their urgent prayers, because she considered their choice so thoroughly appropriate. There was no discussion, as on the two previous occasions, about the crown-matrimonial; but she virtually did her best to raise

[1] See the proceedings in Anderson, ii. 278.

him to a joint occupancy of the throne, by stipulating that the signature of both should be necessary to all state documents passing under the sign-manual.[1]

A fit person for the performance of the ceremony was found in Adam Bothwell, who had been Roman Catholic Bishop of Orkney, and was a convert or an apostate, according to the estimate people took of his sincerity. The ceremony was performed on the 15th of May. Sir James Melville says he went little about Court at that time; but it seems he could not resist the temptation to be present at so remarkable a wedding, though he entertained considerable fear of Bothwell, which would hardly be modified by his consciousness that he was then negotiating for his enemy's destruction. Bothwell's savage nature, however, seems to have been soothed by prosperity. He had some familiar talk and banter, trying to act the condescending prince to one whose sphere he had now left far below him. There was but little said, and that not very brilliant; but it is valuable, as the sole instance in which one finds that mysterious demon of our history unbending into anything like geniality: "I found my Lord Duc of Orkney sitting at his supper. He said I had been a great stranger, desiring me to sit down and sup with him. I said that I had already supped. Then he called for a cup of wine and drank to me, that I might pledge him like a Dutchman. He bade me drink it out to grow fatter; 'for,' said he, 'the zeal of the commonweal has eaten you up and made you sa lean.' I answered that every little member should serve to some use; but that the care of the commonweal appertanet maist til him and the rest of the nobility, who should be as fathers to the same. Then he said, I wist well he would find a pin for every bore." This was in reference to an old allegory about nature having made so many circular holes and so many angular, with a set of pins made to fit each, but mismanagement so confused the whole that the angular pins were forced into the circular holes and the circular into the angular. Bothwell, in

[1] The two documents here referred to have often been printed, and are in Labanoff, ii. 22, 23.

administering the high functions likely to devolve on him, was not to make this mistake—a conceited announcement arrogating capacities for statesmanship which his career by no means warrants. The conclusion of the short scene is characteristic: "Then he fell in purpose of gentlewomen, speaking sic filthy language that I left him and passed up to the queen, wha was very glad of my coming."[1] If in this sort of eloquence he could shock one who had seen in that age so much of the world, and that not always the best of it, he must have been a master indeed in the invention and expression of lubricity.

Although one chronicler mentions that the ceremony was performed in the Chapel Royal, the probability lies with the other authorities who name the Council Chamber as the place. Le Croc, the French ambassador, said he was urged to attend, but declined. The attendance was meagre, the ceremonial strictly in the Protestant form. It was noted at the time, as one type of the reckless haste with which the affair was driven through, that it was not delayed to the expiry of the month of May, held by an old traditionary prejudice to be unpropitious to the nuptials it claims as celebrated within its own limits. The prejudice still has a lingering existence. As placarding had become the received method of expressing public opinion, a line from Ovid's Fasti, importing that they turned out to be wicked women who accepted wedlock in that forbidden month, was affixed to the palace door on the night after the wedding.[2]

The beginning of their wedded life resembled that of any innocent young couple affluent in the sources of magnificence and luxury. They were a good deal seen in public, and frequently rode together in much bravery. Stories were told how, when he, still preserving the etiquette of sovereign and subject, would attend her cap in

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[1] Melville, 178.

[2] "Nec viduæ tædis eadem, nec virginis apta
Tempora; quæ nupsit non diuturna fuit.
Hac quoque de causa, si te proverbia tangunt
Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait."
—Fasti, lib. v

The last was the line selected.

hand, she would playfully snatch it and place it on his head. It may, indeed, be counted one of the most remarkable phenomena of the whole situation, that one of the subtlest and acutest women ever born should, in her fool's paradise, have been totally unconscious of the volcano she was treading on.

Some business had to be done, however; and, among other things, came up the proper diplomatic communication of the event to foreign Courts. A long document of extreme interest contains her instructions to William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, sent as a special envoy to France to convey the intelligence and make suitable explanations. This document is curiously wavering and inconsistent. It begins with a eulogistic biography of her husband—what the French would call an *éloge*. His great services and merits are set forth at length; and since it has to be admitted that he was sometimes under the cloud of the royal displeasure, this is attributed to the envyings that ever dog high merit, and are successful for a time in obscuring it. In this portion of the document it is made clear that Bothwell amply deserved his preferment.

Having shown that what she had done was exactly what in justice and duty she should have done, she next tells how the surrounding conditions coerced her, so that, as a political necessity, she could not do otherwise. She found that his eminent services to the state and to her own person had not been achieved without exciting ambitious thoughts. She saw the somewhat audacious tenor of these, and tried to administer a judicious check to them. She failed. There was another element besides ambition which made him rash and headstrong in his acts—a devouring love for her These combined motives conduced to rash acts, which brought her into his power. Then, when she considered her position, it was not merely that she was at the mercy of a man exulting in the consciousness of unparalleled heroism and statesmanship, and frantically in love with herself, but the whole nation was with him. She referred to the bond signed at the notable supper as a great demonstration of the chiefs of the state, such as a

sovereign cannot without danger resist. The current in Bothwell's favour was so strong that not one man in Scotland appeared to stand up for her. Then she bethought her if she was right in her obstinate resistance. She began to yield to the wishes of her people, and at the same time her heart relented to the merits and the deep affection of her lover. Further, wearied out by the turbulence of the country she has to rule over, she feels how great a relief it will be to herself, how great a gain to law and order, that she shall have for her husband a man who has command in his nature, and can be trusted to rule her fierce subjects. These, indeed, would never "digest a foreign husband;" and of her own subjects "there was none, either for the reputation of his house or for the worthiness of himself, as well in wisdom, valiantness, as in all other good qualities, to be preferred or yet compared to him whom we have taken." Again the document takes a twist. There must be something said to palliate the extraordinary haste in this royal marriage. Such alliances were generally affairs on which a sort of congress of friendly royalties deliberated. It was but common decorum that she should have consulted the King of France, the queen-mother, her uncle the cardinal, and some others. Here, again, she throws the blame on the importunity of her lover, and the impatient pressure of the ruling powers of the country. Then, as if the writer felt alarm that what she said in her own vindication must react against the other, she pleads vehemently that all her friends must be the friends of him who is inseparably joined to her. The past is past. If he has been to blame, it was because his devotion overcame his discretion.

In some measure there is a key to the enigmas of this set of instructions, in another given to Sir Robert Melville for his guidance in explaining the affair to Elizabeth. This document is much shorter than the other. It bears solely on the political necessities which brought about the marriage—the necessity that she should have a husband capable to rule her turbulent people, their detestation of foreigners, the eminent services and merits of her husband, and the pressure of the ruling families. Nothing is said

about the machinations of Bothwell, so fully set forth in the other letter. If we abstract these portions from the instructions for France, the remainder is in substance identical with the English letter. A comparison of the two leaves the impression that a note of the general policy to be adopted in communicating the marriage to foreign powers had been drawn up with care and deliberation, and that the queen had added her own particular story to the French instructions. This would account for the motley and almost contradictory character of the document. It is unsafe to adopt absolute theories on such internal evidence; but there is no escaping the vivid impression that, however the document was put together, those portions which narrate the personal conduct of Bothwell towards her are directly from herself. They endeavour to make out that she yielded to what could not be resisted; yet there is a consciousness throughout that she was guilty in not resisting. While she makes out to her old friends of France that the man she has married is in every way deserving of her love and of his eminent position—that he was the man of all others best fitted to be her husband—that political conditions made the act a necessity,—how comes it that she gives other and meaner reasons for her conduct, and gives them in an apologetic, a pleading, almost a penitential tone? My own opinion is, that her conscience then accused her of her one act of disaffection to the Church of Rome. On all other occasions—when she pursued Huntly to ruin and death—when she interpreted her engagement to support the Church by law established on a promise to support the Reformation—when she tolerated, or even caressed her brother and his heretic followers—she could plead that she bent to circumstances, in order that, when the right time came, she might stand up in fuller strength as the champion of the Church. But here she was struggling, and struggling in vain, to prove that the force of an engrossing passion had swept her for a time away from her allegiance; nor could she well assuage her own conscience or the wrath of her party by a brief declaration that, though forced to unite herself to a heretic, she will

hold fast by her religion, and does not intend to leave the same for him or any man upon earth.[1]

The newly-wedded couple were left much to each other's society. Le Croc, the French ambassador, notices the melancholy emptiness of Holyrood, with a touch of the *ennui* which people of his nation are apt to feel in deserted banquet-halls.[2]

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[1] These letters are published by Keith from what he calls "shattered MS." They have been on all hands accepted as genuine, and are reprinted by Labanoff, ii. 31 *et seq.* Obtaining them from a printed source, that careful editor was not able to follow towards them his laudable practice of explaining whether each document printed by him was taken from a contemporary copy or from the original, and in the latter case whether it was merely signed by Mary or holograph. It cannot be believed that she was sufficiently acquainted with the vernacular to have written the long letter for France straight off in her own hand. But whether or not it be a contemporary translation of a letter written by her in French, I believe that virtually all that criticises her husband's conduct is her own.

[2] Teulet, ii. 155.

CHAPTER XLVII.

QUEEN MARY.

(Continued.)

SYMPTOMS OF A RISING—THE QUEEN AND BOTHWELL TAKE ALARM AND LEAVE HOLYROOD—THE QUEEN IN BORTHWICK—ESCAPES THENCE AND JOINS HER HUSBAND—THEY TAKE REFUGE IN DUNBAR—PROVISIONS FOR THE SAFETY OF THE INFANT PRINCE—THE CONFEDERATE LORDS GET POSSESSION OF EDINBURGH—THE ARMED CONFERENCE AT CARBERRY — THE QUEEN'S SURRENDER, AND REMOVAL TO EDINBURGH—DIFFICULTIES IN DEALING WITH HER THERE—SHE IS TAKEN TO LOCHLEVEN—DISCOVERY OF A CASKET —ITS CONTENTS SAID TO BE POEMS AND LOVE-LETTERS ADDRESSED BY MARY TO BOTHWELL—HOW THE CONFEDERATES RESOLVED TO DEAL WITH THIS DISCOVERY—EXAMINATION OF THE LETTERS—THEIR NARRATIVE OF THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO DARNLEY AT GLASGOW COMPARED WITH THE OTHER NARRATIVE OF THE SAME BY CRAUFURD—QUEEN MARY ABDICATES—CONCLUSION OF A HISTORICAL EPOCH.

SOME time passed over before anything occurred to break the surface of the tranquil happiness which the new-married couple appeared to enjoy. The first alarm of danger seems to have occurred in this manner. On the 28th of May the usual proclamation was issued for a "raid," or assemblage of the feudal force, for an attack upon the border marauders. The array was called upon to meet the queen and "her dearest spouse"—the force of the midland counties on the 15th of June, that of the border on six hours' warning.[1] It was said at the time

[1] See the proclamations in Keith, 395.

that the intention was to use the army when assembled for other purposes. However this may be, instead of the usual clanging and bustling preliminaries of such a gathering, there was an ominous silence; and whatever was doing among the barons and their retainers, they were not flocking to the border. Those who were absent from Court stayed at home; those who had remained in Edinburgh slipped gradually away. Among them was Lethington, who said his life was in danger. It was as with Macbeth when he said, "The thanes fly from me." Frightened by this silence, and probably by other hints, on the 6th or 7th of June the queen and her husband suddenly left Holyrood, and shut themselves up in Borthwick Castle, twelve miles from Edinburgh. Edinburgh Castle would have been the natural place of retreat; but that, for reasons to be presently mentioned, was not available. They were scarcely safe in Borthwick when the Lords Morton and Hume suddenly appeared with a hostile following of some six or eight hundred men—these were part of a larger force which had crept from various districts towards Edinburgh, expecting to seize the queen and her husband in Holyrood.

Borthwick, a thick-walled square tower like the old Norman keeps in England, was strong for a private fortalice, but could not stand artillery, as Cromwell afterwards showed by the results of a round or two. It could not accommodate a sufficient garrison to cope with an army such as was gathering round it, and the fugitives in their haste had not brought even such a garrison as it could hold. There was nothing for it but flight or surrender for Bothwell; as to the queen, the muster professed rather to deliver than to attack her. Bothwell managed to escape. The queen might have joined the party arrayed against the castle; for if she had hitherto acted under either coercion or fear of her husband, both were at an end. With him all was suddenly over—there was not the faintest chance of his finding a party that would hold out for himself alone.

She took a different course, however. At dead of night she got herself let out alone, dressed as a page, and,

mounting a pony, rode out upon the wild moorland. About two miles south-west of Borthwick is the tower of Cakemuir or Black Castle. There she met Bothwell with a small party of followers. There could be nothing more natural and seemly, under ordinary conditions, than that the captive wife should flee into the arms of her husband; but the specialties of the event made it significant and unfortunate for the stability of some amiable theories. They rode through the night to Dunbar; and thus, on a third memorable occasion, the queen entered that fortress.

So came the outbreak of a combination which had been rapidly maturing. The royal pair, having made no preparation to meet it, seem not to have been conscious of their danger; but it was palpable to the French ambassador, who, within three days after the marriage, wrote home that Bothwell was a doomed man.[1]

Before the marriage, the leading barons had been arranging with each other to cope with Bothwell. Gradually their objects went farther, and they spoke of dealing with the queen herself as one whom it was dangerous to leave in possession of the power she held. They opened communications with Elizabeth's ministers. That active spirit, Kirkcaldy of Grange, was the soul of their consultations and projects. He was one of themselves, as a landed man, who could bring some followers into the field; yet was he not restrained to the diplomatic reserve of the heads of the great houses, but could go about making himself busy everywhere as adviser, exhorter, or messenger. When they had felt their way so far as to know what reliance they could place in each other, they sought Elizabeth. She was so far with them that she was prepared to express any amount of reprobation against the chief actors in the late events in Scotland. There is reason to believe that these really vexed the rival, and rather malignant rival as she was, of the great actress in them. The utter ruin of one rival is not always pleasant to the other. It annihilates those elements of comparison which impart a zest to emulation and rivalry. There is

[1] Teulet, ii. 155.

nothing either to boast or feel internal satisfaction at in being something better than an utter wreck. Elizabeth had thus sufficient inclination to pour any amount of censure on the offenders; but she was startled when the Scots spoke to her about bringing their queen to justice, and making a new provision for the head of the government in the name of the infant heir. All her sensitiveness to the danger of letting subjects question the doings of their sovereigns was roused at once. To meet the exigency that the young prince was in danger, she offered to take him into her own charge—a proposal likely to excite derisive smiles among the Scots lords, who felt that the essence of their whole strength lay in the existence and the possession of the puling infant.

The question, indeed, of his safety proved an important turning-point in the progress of events. Mar, who had him in charge in Stirling Castle, was uneasy for his safety, judging the castle not sufficiently strong. Sir James Melville hints, but does not flatly say, that the queen herself had pressed Mar to give up the custody of her son, and that he had resisted, refusing to do so without the authority of the Estates of Parliament.[1] The question was, What was to be done in the difficulty of all the places sufficiently strong to retain so precious a charge being in the hands of the enemy?

Melville claims much credit for the diplomatic skill with which he conquered this difficulty. Edinburgh Castle was in charge of one of Bothwell's creatures, Sir James Balfour. His master, however, had lately shown some suspicions that his devotion was not sufficiently implicit. Melville, giving a direction to the uneasiness thus created, informed Balfour that he had it from Whitelaw, the cap-

[1] "My Lord Mar, wha was a true nobleman, wald not deliver him out of his custody, alleging that he could not without consent of the three Estates. Yet he was sa oft pressed be them that had the autority in their hands, that he was put to ane strait after that he had made divers refuses; that he made his moan to me among others, praying me to help to saif the prince out of their hands wha had slain his father, and had made his vaunt already among his familiars that, if he could get him ains in his hands, he suld warrant him fra revenging of his father's death."—Melville, 179.

tain of the Castle of Dunbar, that Bothwell was determined to take Edinburgh Castle from its present captain, and appoint the Laird of Beanston, a Hepburn, in his place. Melville then enlarged on the great part Balfour would play, if he should be the means of saving the queen and the prince from the man who was also going to sacrifice himself.[1]

The immediate consequence of this dealing seems to have been that, contrary to the general expectation, when the confederates returned to Edinburgh from Borthwick they were not fired on from the castle, but easily forced the city gates and entered—welcome to the inhabitants, who saw them pour in from the alleys leading to the gates and form on the High Street. James Beaton, the archbishop's brother, having gone to offer his duty to the fugitives at Dunbar, was sent by them with a message to Balfour to hold the castle for the queen and punish the rebels.[2] He found that the confederates had established a watch on the Castle-hill; and having managed to pass it, two of the leaders—the Lairds of Tullibardine and Rossythe—followed him to within twenty paces of the castle gate and brought him back. He managed afterwards to evade their diligence and get access to Balfour; but he found "the captain very cauld in his answering to her majesty's commandments." Presently afterwards Secretary Lethington appeared among the confederates—a token that there was life in their cause, and more to be thrown into it. He went to the castle, and, according to Beaton, "spak with the captain the space of three hours." This seems to have been conclusive, and the great fortress passed from Bothwell to the confederates. These took rapid steps to bring the machinery of government into their own hands, to be worked, of course, in the queen's name, and for the purpose of releasing her out of the restraint in which she was held. They invaded the "cunyie-house" or mint, and took possession of the fount and the "cunyie-irons," or matrices for stamping coins. They offered a bounty for

[1] Melville, 180.

[2] Letter printed in Laing, ii. 106.

recruits, and readily obtained them. Finding themselves decidedly popular with the citizens, they made a curious appeal to their susceptibility by hanging up a picture of the finding of Darnley's body, the young prince bending over it with the legend, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!"

One of the earliest steps of the confederates was to issue a manifesto; and as they were strong and in command of the capital, it was pitched in a high tone of authority. It is dated on the 11th June. It is a powerfully-reasoned and eloquent document—very different in tone from the pedantic formality of the bonds and other documents so plentiful on the side of the queen and her new husband. It refers to the murder in due terms of horror and indignation; and points out that, in a nation where such crimes not only go unpunished but uninvestigated, no one knows what deeds may be committed, and no one, high or low, can feel security for life. They are banded together for the investigation of this crime; for the release of the queen from the bondage in which she is held; "to cause justice be ministrate equally to all the subjects of this commonweal, and to purge this realm of the infamy and slander wherewith as yet it remains bruited among all nations." In this document there is not a breath of suspicion or of disloyalty to the queen; the object held most prominently forward of all is to rescue her from her present thraldom and danger.[1]

Next day a proclamation was issued in the name of "the Lords of Privy Council and nobility." It charged Bothwell with having murdered the king, and afterwards used other unlawful means to seduce his sovereign into "ane unhonest marriage." It narrates, in its own way, and with its own colours, the other events that had occurred, and asserts that he had made preparations "whilk we look can be with na other effect but to commit the like murther upon the son as was upon the father." Officers-at-arms are directed to pass to the market-crosses of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, St Andrews, Stirling, and

[1] Anderson, i. 128.

other places, and charge all the lieges to be ready, at three hours' warning, to join their banner, and aid them in delivering the queen from captivity, punishing the murderers, and rescuing the royal infant from his father's fate.[1]

On the night of the 14th the confederates heard that Bothwell was approaching Edinburgh with a force, and they resolved to go forth and meet him. One of their reasons for not abiding his attack in their stronghold appears to have been that they could not have much reliance on the new-born virtue of the captain of the castle, should he be tempted by the presence of his old master at the head of a considerable force. They marched at two o'clock next morning. They were in all eighteen hundred horsemen and four hundred footmen—half of these were craftsmen, accustomed to watch-and-ward duty in the town. They came in sight of their enemy as they approached Musselburgh.

Let us look now to the other side. The fugitives reached the fortress of Dunbar at three o'clock in the morning. The author of the Diary, attributed to the captain of Inchkeith, hearing of their arrival, set off to join them. He found them at Dunbar with hardly any one but a few domestics. He noticed the peculiarity of the queen's dress, especially the brevity of the red petticoat, and that she had prepared a couple of casts of hawks and two single birds for the field. She had other matters, however, to busy her, and was deep in despatches and messages to bring together a force. She set off next day to Haddington, with a guard of two hundred harquebussiers and sixty horsemen. By her own exertions and her husband's, she had six hundred horsemen round her when she reached Haddington. Their recruiting was in the very centre of the estates and jurisdictions with which she had invested Bothwell; and the old retainers of his house on the border, where he reigned almost supreme as warden, were within reach. The queen went on to Seton, her old haunt, and when there she could count sixteen hundred followers. At what point in the progress her husband

[1] Anderson, i. 131.

joined her, those who narrate the affair, otherwise so minute, give no information. On the 15th, however, he had a gathering that, in numbers at least, seemed fit to cope with the confederates. These, however, had greatly the advantage in condition for the field. With the exception of a few sturdy burgesses, as the eyewitnesses note, they were mounted gentlemen, trained to fighting, and in excellent condition and discipline. Eighteen hundred of them were mounted ; and in the sixteenth century, though artillery was breaking down the enormous superiority of horsemen over footmen, that would have been a formidable element in a considerable army. Le Croc, who noticed the preponderance of horsemen and their fine condition, also noticed, as a specialty he seems not to have seen before, that the Scots horsemen when halting abandoned the saddle, and only mounted for actual fighting. Bothwell's men were hastily collected ; there had been no time to handle them, so as to know what they were fit for. He had no good captains ; and, as an onlooker remarked, they were chiefly " commons " or peasants. He had with him a few cannon brought from Dunbar, and a portion of these he posted at a ford a little above Musselburgh.

To those anywise acquainted with the ground, it will be best understood how the two armies stood to each other by noting that the Esk, which passes Dalkeith and Musselburgh, was between them when they first saw each other. Bothwell's troops were on the south-east side, keeping the upper ridge of the hills or banks. The confederates crossed the river, and competed for the higher ground. They seem to have fidgeted about, trying as well to occupy high ground as to get rid of the annoyance of the sun being in their face, for it was a clear hot day. The country presents no decided sweep of predominant rising ground, but undulates ; and so both forces occupied an elevation, with a burn running in the declivity between, now cut by a branch railway. The position taken up by Bothwell on Carberry Hill, where there remained some of the earthworks left by the English army after the battle of Pinkie, is still called Queen Mary's Mount.

While they were watching each other, Le Croc, the French ambassador, appeared on the scene, his diplomatic mind sorely perplexed by the anomalous sight. Here was royalty on the one side, and rebellious subjects on the other. But with these was the bulk of the rank, statesmanship, and military capacity of the country—the men with whom he used to hold counsel as its government heads; here, too, was an army, small, but respectable both for the social condition of the men and their effective training. On the side of royalty he saw crime, folly, a few border lairds for a court, and a force of undrilled peasants. Le Croc, however, wished to be of service. He was a man of kindly nature, and, as representing the crown that had so long exercised a high influence in Scotland, he sought to do what he could to stay a conflict that must be the first of a civil war. In fact he must have felt that whatever he did on the occasion might have a material influence on the interests of his own country, and on his own position and repute as a statesman. The tone of the diplomacy of the day shows that the French Court at once took the alarm about the ancient alliance. It was predicted that the end of the doings at Holyrood would be that Scotland, severed from France, would be attached to England. The instructions to Le Croc and others pressed him to do his utmost to avert this calamity; and, in the sincerity of urgent pleading, the importance of keeping a hold on Scotland was set forth in terms that would have made any true Scot on either side indignant.[1] His way led first to the force of the confederates. With these he held talk, but not so long as to give the impression that he favoured their cause. Finding there no opening for accommodation, he left them, and returned in three hours to find the aspect of things unchanged. He besought them, for the love of God, and in the name of his master, who wished well both to the queen and to them, to try and find a way to accommodation. They said

[1] "Le désir et intention principale de sa majesté est de conserver le royaume d'Escosse à sa devotion."—Memoir to, or communicated to, Le Croc; Teulet (8vo ed.). ii. 324.

there was no other but the queen's giving up her husband to them. Speak of it, he said, as they would, their act was war against their queen; and should God favour them so that they gained a battle, they would be more than ever at a loss how to act. They said there were just two ways of averting bloodshed: the one was for the queen to part with the traitor in whose hands she was, the other was for him to step forth prepared for single combat. He would find one ready to fight him, and another, and another, up to ten or a dozen, if he desired it. The ambassador said both alternatives would be offensive to the queen, and he would have to do with neither: had they nothing else to offer? No, nothing; and in strong language they swore that they would get the truth of the king's death laid bare. He seems to have found himself in controversy with them. He intended, apparently, if he saw any hope of good results, to have passed at his ease between the two forces, bringing matters by degrees to a reconciliation. Having found as yet nothing but defiance among the confederates, he proposed to cross over and speak with the queen. This was objected to. He complained loudly of the awkward position in which he was thus placed. Communicating with them alone, he would appear to throw his weight into their side. They had no right to put him in that position; he must retire if he were not to see the queen. No restraint was put on him; but to pass over to the queen's force he required to have a proper convoy. He does not tell who they were who were so discourteous as to refuse him this; but he describes with vividness how Secretary Lethington came forward with graceful courtesy, expressed his respect for the ambassador of so great a king, to whom he and his friends offered their humble duty, desiring earnestly that the old alliance between the two nations might exist uninterrupted. He told the ambassador frankly that he was free to come and go at his will between the two forces, and would be provided, so far as concerned their side, with the means of doing so. They gave him an escort of fifty horse, who had to take him beyond their own proper lines; for he found that there had already crossed the

brook, in advance on the queen's party, some two hundred troopers, with nine hundred as a support.

He was brought first in presence of the queen alone; and having paid his duty, he told her what grief the knowledge of her present position would bring to the King of France, and also to the queen—as to whom, however, the sincerity of his remark may be doubted. He told her that he had spoken with the confederate lords, and what they had said, begging her to weigh their words and intentions well; for they were still her loving subjects, though the position they had taken might look otherwise. She said that they used her very ill, since she had only complied with their own bond, and taken the husband they had dictated to her. Nevertheless, if they would acknowledge his position and ask his pardon, she was ready to open her arms to them.

At this point the husband came up. He and the ambassador saluted each other; but the proud Frenchman specially notes that he declined the embrace of friendship. He tells how Bothwell demanded, with an air of assurance, and in a loud voice that his followers might hear, if it was he that was wanted. The ambassador answered aloud that he had spoken to the other force, and they had assured him they were the very humble subjects and servants of the queen; and then, in a whisper for his own particular ear, that they were *his* mortal enemies. Bothwell, again speaking so as to be heard around, asked what he had done to them. He had never wished to offend any one, but desired to please all; they were influenced by mere envy of his greatness; but every man was free to enjoy his own good fortune; and there was not one of them but would gladly be in his place. Then he became very earnest, and besought the ambassador, for the love of God, to relieve the queen from a position which gave him great pain, and also to prevent bloodshed. Le Croc he said was free to tell the confederates that, though he had the honour to be husband to the queen, he would enter in gage of battle with any of them, provided he were of proper quality; and he would fight, holding his cause to be so just that he felt assured God would be with him.

But the queen forbade this, and Le Croc declined to take the message.

Bothwell then remarked that more talk was useless; he saw his enemies coming, some of them having passed the brook. He hinted to the ambassador that, if he desired to imitate him who mediated between the armies of Scipio and Hannibal, he should hold himself impartial, and take part with neither side, but stand aloof during the fighting and see the best fun that ever was; and if he would imitate this example, he would have the like, for he would see good fighting. Le Croc said it was not where the queen and these two armies were concerned that he would enjoy such a sight; on the contrary, it had never been his lot to behold a scene that could so grieve him. Some more talk of a general character they seem to have had before parting. Bothwell boasting of his own strength, the other admitted that he had a greater number of men—four thousand, while they had some five hundred fewer, and he had three pieces of artillery—but were all to be trusted to hold by his cause? Le Croc had just come from a force gallantly and sagaciously led, where there were several wise heads, and all were resolute; but here was no one to be depended on but the leader, and he questioned if more than a half would stand by him. In fact several slipped over to the other side, and the force was much weakened by many others falling out to refresh themselves in the hot day. Le Croc bade adieu to the queen with extreme regret, leaving her with the tear in her eye. He went back to the confederate lords, and told them the condition on which the queen would be reconciled to them; but they were resolute, and would have no more discussion; and each taking his morion in his hand, bade him for God's sake depart, thanking him for his well-meant efforts. He withdrew accordingly, and returned to Edinburgh with a heavy heart.

After he went, the two forces, which had stood immovable from eleven in the forenoon till five in the afternoon, crept near each other—but each still sought an elevation; and when they were very close, it required that the one making the attack should go down into a little valley in

the first place. The ambassador noticed the banners. The queen's was the royal lion; that of the confederate lords, their favourite picture of the murdered man and the infant prince.[1]

Presently a small party of the queen's force descended and proffered a *parle*. They were joined by a like body on the other side, and it was determined between them that the gage of battle should be tried. Tullibardine, understood to have been active in the affair of the accusatory placards, came forward, but Bothwell declined to acknowledge him as of sufficient rank. He wished to measure swords with Morton, but this life the confederates thought too valuable to be so risked. Lindsay was the next. He imitated, so far as was consistent with Protestant usage, the religious ceremony of the old gage of battle, and prayed on his knees conspicuously between the two forces. When the queen's consent was asked, she wavered, appeared to yield to such a sacrifice for the avoidance of bloodshed, but in the end forbade the combat.

The confederates now were determined to advance; and it became clear to Bothwell that his own party, thinned by deserters, and not all disposed to combat, would not stand the charge of the well-disciplined force descending into the hollow. Seeing this, it became part of the policy of the confederates to prevent the escape of Bothwell; and Kirkcaldy of Grange was detached, with two hundred mounted men, to flank the enemy, and intercept his retreat to Dunbar. The queen observing Kirkcaldy, sent a message desiring to have conference

[1] Le Croc describes it: "Une enseigne blanche, où il y avoit ung homme mort auprès d'un arbre, et ung enfant qui est à genoulx, representant le prince de ce royaume, qui tient ung escrit où il y a 'Revenche, O mon Dieu, de ma juste cause!'" The captain of Inchkeith, who seems to have had a heraldic mind, describes it with a characteristic difference: "Une ansigne blanche en quoy estoit tiré ung abre vert, ayant une branch rompue, ung homme mort au pied, vestu d'une chemise blanche, dans un champ vert, et ung enfant assis audessus de son chef, tenant ung escriteau en sa main, disant, 'O Seigneur, juge et revange ma querelle!'"—Teulet (8vo ed.), ii. 306, 318.

with him; and having got a safe-conduct, he consented. He appears to have bluntly told the queen that all would honour and serve her if she would abandon the murderer of her husband. Melville tells us that, while he so spoke, "the Earl Bodwell had appointed a soldier to shoot him, until the queen gafe a cry, and said that he should not do her that shame wha had promised that he should come and return safely." This incident is not mentioned by the other narrators. It is not quite clear whether it was then, or when called on a second time to confer with the queen, that the confederates grew uneasy about his detention, and continued their advance. A hasty stipulation then passed that Bothwell should, unmolested, depart for Dunbar, and the queen render herself. They parted, as we are told, like fond lovers, with many kisses, and much sorrow on her part.[1] He mounted and galloped off with a slender train. His last words to the queen were an exhortation to continue true to her plighted faith.

At that moment the cup of the wretched woman's bitterness must have been filled to the brim. One by one every refuge had been closed; and over the wide world at home, as well as abroad, there was no quarter to which she could look for countenance. England from the first was not to be thought of. But at the Court of France the door was even more hopelessly closed. There was strong suspicion there of her guilt; and the deed was not one of those acts, perpetrated with Italian subtlety and external decorum in the inner recesses of courts, of which people circulate timid whispers, but was a flagrant act—the common talk of her own people. At all events she had become the husband of one guilty beyond all question of the crime held in chief abhorrence at Court; and not only so, but she had brought scandal on the royalty of France—she, the queen-dowager, allying herself with one too well known in Paris—noble, no doubt, as all Scots were, but a needy adventurer, seeking fortune wherever

[1] "Avecque grande angoise et doulleur de son cousté; et plus souventefois s'entrebessèrent."—Captain of Inchkeith; Teulet, ii. 307

and however he could find her, and notorious for indulgence in vices of a low cast. Then the bulk of what was honourable and respectable among her own subjects had taken arms against her, and the rest would not strike in her defence. But sorest, perhaps, of all the arrows at her heart, was the unkindness of him for whom she had encountered all. This dread skeleton in the house can generally be kept in its secret receptacle in the courts of princes, and even the abodes of moderate respectability; but everything in Holyrood went on too passionately and flagrantly for concealment. Many noticed that she was an oppressed, insulted wife. But little incidents referred to by persons present are more expressive than general accusations. Le Croc said that, immediately after the marriage, she was curious to know whether he had noticed somewhat of her husband's strange usage towards her, and told him not to wonder if her manner were sad, for she was in deep distress. Once, too, in an inner chamber, where she was alone with her husband, she was heard to weep, and to say she wished she had a knife, that she might put an end to her existence. By a rare coincidence this was heard both by Le Croc and Melville—it was reported by the former to the King of France, and recorded by the latter in his Diary.

Such incidents are serviceable to those who hold that the unhappy woman was the mere helpless victim of fraud and force—a sort of realisation of the old stories about giants and enchanters, or of the romances with the tyrant lord who, gifted with powers almost as preternatural, seizes and imprisons the doomed princess. But there is another cause for such phenomena, with which the daily world is unfortunately more familiar—the woman with many gifts, and the one fatal weakness that induces her to throw them at the feet of an unworthy object; the victim of a blind imperious passion, giving herself over, body and soul, to one so thoroughly selfish and brutal, that no attachment or gratitude, no prudential restraint, will even for a brief space suspend the impulses of his sensual and tyrannical nature.

Whatever at that moment passed through her mind,

the queen acted her part with her usual grace and princely decorum. According to Melville's Diary, she said, "'Laird of Grange, I render me unto you, upon the conditions ye rehearsed to me in the name of the lords;' and gave him her hand, whilk he kissed, and led her majesty by the bridle down the brae unto the lords, who came forward and met her." Her selection showed a sagacious instinct, and her courtesy that day is believed to have won for her a champion. We are told that the lords used all dutiful reverence; "but some of the rascals cried out despitefully," until they were put down by indignant remonstrances and chastisement. And so the queen returned to Edinburgh.[1]

The confederates were not destined to find in their captive the meek resignation of a broken spirit. After the first touch of depression was over, a reaction seems to have come, which hurried her on into one of those outbursts of rage which, more than once in the course of her life, got the better of her usual subtlety. She let loose her formidable tongue, and hit right and left with maddening effect. She seems to have been particularly successful in finding a sore in the gruff and surly Lindsay, and to have torn at it remorselessly with her sharp sarcasm, while he, accustomed to weapons of a different kind, could retaliate nothing. What was more serious, however, than all this, she swore she would have all their lives; and spoke, even

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[1] The account of these transactions is, with some little assistance from Melville's Diary, taken from the accounts of three eyewitnesses, all happily uniting in the minuteness and the general conformity of their details. One is the 'Letter of James Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow's brother, to his brother Mr Andrew, to be given to the archbishop, containing the Proceedings in Scotland from the 11th to the 17th of June 1767;' printed in Laing, ii. 106. Another is a long letter by Le Croc to the King of France; printed by Teulet (8vo). ii. 312. The third is called 'Récit des Evénements du 7 au 15 Juin 1567, par le Capitain d'Inchkeith;' printed by Teulet, ii. 300. The Captain was a Frenchman. It was agreed, as we have seen at the treaty of Edinburgh, that a small French garrison should continue to occupy this island in the Forth. It had been, like Dunbar, evacuated by its French occupants, so that his captainship must have become a title of courtesy.

as she then was, like one luxuriating in the execution of her vengeance.[1]

When the captive reached Edinburgh, the procession got an ugly reception from the common people. The great High Street was filled with a mob deeply excited, who uttered revilings and accusations in abundance. It was observed that the loudest and fiercest denunciations came from her own sex, and not the most virtuous portion of it. The scene in the celebrated banner, drawn apparently on a large scale, was spread before her, with sedulous endeavours to catch her eye whatever way she turned. A portion of the natural excitement of the time appears oddly enough to have expended itself on painting. Several representations seem to have been made of the discovery of the body, with more or less of allegorical machinery; and several other pictures made their appearance, which, either through allegory or an attempt to represent facts, gave shape to the feelings of their producers. Caricatures they could not be called, for they had a deadly earnestness about them—and still less were they entitled to be called specimens of historical art; but they were deemed as signs of the times, so important that some of them may now be found among the documents of the period, which were preserved in the State Paper Office.[2]

Another phenomenon of the time may be found in the creation of the Edinburgh mob. The strange exciting history passing before it gave it life; and, finding its

[1] "Ne parla jamais que de les faire tous pendre et crucifier, et continue tousjours."—Le Croc to Catherine of Medici; Teulet, ii. 310.

[2] There is one in which an attempt is made to represent the whole scene of the murder—the shattered house, the Hotel of the Hamiltons beside it, the city gate and wall, the remnant of the old Kirk-of-Field, the bodies, and the assembled crowd of citizens. A copy of this will be found in Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary. It is curious to observe how that industrious and earnest author, while deeply immersed in the furtherance of one of his hobbies, the vindication of Queen Mary, seizes the passing opportunity to assist another which bore on the prevalence of the Celtic language and customs in Scotland. He takes the slight liberty of dressing about one-half of the attendant mob in the kilt and other elements of the modern Highland costume. A more correct rendering of the picture will be found in David Laing's 'Registrum Domus de Soltre' edited for the Bannatyne Club.

strength, it continued, down to within the memory of persons still living, a permanent and formidable institution. The well-trained force of the confederates was perhaps sufficient to control any actual violence. The condition of the town, however, was from the first embarrassing. It appears to have been owing to this that it was thought imprudent to convey the captive down the High Street and Canongate to Holyrood. Hence she was lodged in the house of the provost, which stood on the north side of the cross, where the Council-house and the Exchange buildings now stand.[1] Her conduct there is one of the most astounding features in the whole narrative. Several times during the afternoon she appeared at the window so scantily and carelessly dressed that the sight was inconsistent with proper feminine decorum; and there she moaned and cried and wailed to the mob that gathered thick upon the street. Beaton, with a touch of good feeling and that minute attention to detail which makes his story so valuable, says, "Na man could look upon her but she movit him to pity and compassion. For my ain part, I was satisfied to hear of it, and micht not suffer to see it." That she, who never was known to depart from the etiquette of her rank except to dignify that departure by her grace and wit, should so revolt against her proper nature, was an expressive addition to the astounding events that had excited the Edinburgh populace. It goes, with other incidents, to show that the terrible excitement of her recent life must have in some measure disordered her brain.

Lethington was an eyewitness of this scene. He went into the provost's house, and tried to soothe the queen. The street in front was cleared of the mob; but the excitement of the people had got an impulse, and Le Croc found that by evening there was much alarm about the preservation of peace in the city. Le Croc expressed

[1] Le Croc, when reporting this to his master, makes haste to remove the impression likely to be created at the French Court by this *bourgeoisement* treatment of royalty: "Je sais bien, sire, que ce nom de prévost sera bien odieux en France, mais en ce pays c'est comme la principale maison de la ville."—Teulet, ii. 319.

himself satisfied that the confederates were reasonable in their ultimate views—that they only wanted to get her separated from Bothwell, in the belief that they might then safely return to their duty towards her as their sovereign. His chief anxiety, indeed, was lest they should not feel strong enough to cope with their enemy, and might seek assistance from Elizabeth, a contingency that might be fatal to the French alliance. He seemed to hint to them that, rather than this should be, they might expect aid from France; but he implored them, if possible, to get this affair brought to a conclusion.

But under Le Croc's eyes, and even while he was explaining these views to Lethington, the affair took a sudden and disagreeable turn. Believing that the queen led a miserable life with her husband, the confederates thought she would be easily severed from him. Her wild talk the night before, however, had led them to suspect that she was frantic to return to his arms, and she had acted so as to confirm this view. Le Croc was told by Lethington that he had had a conversation with her, in which she reproached him for severing her from the husband with whom she hoped to live and die with all the satisfaction in the world. He answered that he and his comrades were far from feeling that they did her injury by this separation; on the contrary, they believed it to be in every way the best thing for her future honour and tranquillity. He tried what jealousy would do, and said her husband was still in correspondence with his former wife, and had told her that she was his real wife and the queen his mistress. The queen gave an angry denial to this, and he shortly replied that the letters would show it. Lethington said the conference ended by her asking if she and her husband would be permitted together in a ship, to sail where fortune should direct. To this draft on the precedents of the romances, the "Chameleon," as Buchanan calls him, made answer, evidently in a vein of dry sarcasm, that, provided the pair did not happen to land in France, he thought it about the best thing they could do. It seems clear, too, that she wrote a letter to her husband, which the messenger

she had hired to convey it faithlessly delivered to the confederates. Melville renders its purport as "calling him her dear heart, whom she should never forget nor abandon for absence; and that she sent him away only for his safety, willing him to be comforted, and to be upon his guard."

In this state of matters—the city in commotion, a frantic queen within it, and an unscrupulous enemy at hand, whom she would do everything to help—the leading men seem to have adopted a hurried resolution that there was no alternative but to get the queen "sequestered" in some place, quiet, remote, and safe. Le Croc, who carefully watched what was doing, and immediately reported it home, was unable to give the same satisfactory account of these hasty movements as of the deliberate proceedings of the confederates. He knew that at nine o'clock in the evening she had been conveyed to Holyrood as if to reside there in her usual state, but that during the night she had been taken to the port of Leith, where a vessel received her with her attendants and a guard. Farther than this he was at fault. In his letter to his king dated 17th June, he presumed that their destination was Stirling; but in his next he said the queen had been taken to Loquelin, or Lochleven.

The 20th of June, three days after these stirring events, is the date of an incident small in itself, and known at the time to few, which proved, however, of mighty moment in the politics of the day, and has since given occasion for a whole library of critical and disputative literature. Bothwell, in his hurry to leave Edinburgh, left behind him, as people on such occasions are apt to do, an article which he highly valued. It had been taken with him into the Castle of Edinburgh, and there left. It is described as a casket about a foot long, decorated with silver over-gilt, and bearing the crown of France and the initials of Francis II., from whom it had passed to his widow, and then to her third husband. It contained papers of value, and Bothwell was very anxious to recover them. He sent his servant, George Dalgleish, to bring the casket from Edinburgh to Dunbar. The man was intercepted,

however, and the casket found its way to Morton's hands. It is possible that a hint may have been given of the removal by Balfour the governor; but as Dalgleish was then wanted as an accessory of the murder of Darnley, the probability is that he was apprehended on this ground, and the casket found with him. The papers afterwards produced as the contents of this casket, whether, indeed, they were its real contents or mere forgeries, were the ground on which the subsequent actions of Queen Mary's opponents rested; and hence it is that the little incident of the discovery of the casket expands into a great political event.[1] Besides the contract of marriage already referred to, and some other documents, the momentous portion of these papers consisted of eight letters and some poetry called sonnets, all declared to be in the handwriting of Queen Mary, and in that Latin or Italian form of writing which she was about the first to practise in Scotland, and which at once distinguishes her manuscripts from the ordinary Gothic writing of the period.

The literary history of these letters and sonnets is curious. The originals have long been lost. They were among Morton's effects when he was executed; and there has been an impression that they passed into the hands of King James, by whom they were destroyed. The source from which we now know their nature is a Latin translation of them appended to Buchanan's Detection of the Doings of Queen Mary, published in 1572. In the translation of that work, which appeared in the same year, and is attributed to Buchanan himself, there is a rendering of the whole into the Scots vernacular, and of

[1] The chivalrous class to whom Mary's innocence is a creed rather than an opinion, will not blame me for having constructed my narrative without reference to the contents of the casket. In the supposition that they are genuine, they were a secret between two criminals which did not yet begin to influence others; and it seemed to be the historian's proper duty to deal with what was known to, and consequently influenced, the actors at large on the political stage. From the 20th of June 1567, however, the ruling power in Scotland took its stand upon the import of these letters; and it is, therefore, from that day that they properly become a part of public history.

nearly the whole into French. Having them in this shape, we have no means of critically judging of the style of the original; and any evidence that might be found in the minuter turns of expression, sometimes so effective when the general tenor of the writing is ambiguous, is lost. The tone of these papers is, however, so impetuous, and their tenor so emphatic and distinct, as to leave, at least in the essentials, no doubtful meanings which a reference to the original might have cleared. The same qualities render it practicable to give a description of the documents, and a brief rendering of their more emphatic passages, without the risk of injustice. To feel the significance of these passages, it is only necessary to keep in view the chain of events which begins with the queen's visit to her sick husband in Glasgow.[1]

The first letter is long. It goes over many minute transactions, to some of which we have now no clue. It is apparent, however, that to a forger they must have been perilous material, as affording numerous points from which his work might be assailed. She apologises, indeed, for writing about everything, however trifling, in order that the receiver of her letter may have the means of estimating the significance of all the occurrences. In this abridgment it is considered unnecessary to glean from the document anything that has not in itself a plain meaning,

[1] It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader where he will find the documents at length. They have been repeatedly printed, and are given in nearly every one of the voluminous pleadings on both sides of the great controversy. The most carefully edited copy of them is, however, undoubtedly that given by M. Teulet in the volume of 'Lettres de Marie Stuart,' which he published for the purpose of supplying deficiencies in Prince Labanoff's Collection. The French contemporary translation of the 'Detectio' and its documents has the title 'Histoire de Marie Royne D'Escosse, touchant la conjuration faicte contre le Roy, et l'adultere commis avec la Comte de Bothvvel, histoire vrayement tragique, traduicte de Latin en Francois. A Edimbourg, par Thomas Vvaltern, 1572.' It is from this that the usual French version of the letters and sonnets is taken. Though bearing the imprint of Edinburgh, the translation was probably prepared in France, perhaps even printed there, since two v's are used for w. It was usual to have a Dutch, and occasionally a Scots imprint, on works that could not be safely published in France.

or a reference to some known and significant event. She begins with a sentiment: having gone from the place where she had left her heart, it will easily be believed how unable she was to enjoy society, insomuch that, until dinner-time, she spoke to no one, nor did any one venture to address her. Four miles from Glasgow she was met by a gentleman of Lennox's household—the same Craufurd whose account of these transactions is elsewhere referred to. There was some rather exciting talk. Craufurd had to explain how Lennox did not come in person —he was scared by the harsh words the queen had used to Cunningham—probably the same who afterwards represented Lennox at Bothwell's trial. The queen remarked that Lennox would not have been afraid to come had he not been conscious of guilt. She then stood on her dignity, and closed the discussion. Others she encountered, with whom her conversation was still more obscure and incidental; but she remarked that none of the Glasgow citizens came to see her, whence she inferred that they were on her husband's side. Of him the first note we have is an inquiry of one of the domestics of the queen, why she lodged not beside him. If she did so, he would rise the quicker from his sick-bed; and he was anxious to know whether her visit was intended as a step towards reconciliation. He particularly desired to know if Bothwell himself were in his wife's train, and also if she had made her "State." He wanted to know if she had taken Paris and Gilbert into her service, and was to send Joseph Rizzio away. She expressed extreme annoyance at his being thus accurately informed of her private motions—he spoke even of the marriage of Bastiat! When they met, she taunted him with some complaints in his letters about the hardships he had to suffer. He, instead of answering to the point, gave words to his astonishment and excessive joy at seeing her—he believed he might die of gladness, but he rallied her on her pensiveness. In a second visit which he begged of her, he said his sickness was caused by her unkindness—he would make no testament, but only leave everything to her. Then comes an outpouring, which she professes to report in full: "You

ask me what I mean by the cruelty spoken to in my letters. It comes of you alone, who will not accept of my promises and repentance. I confess I have been in fault, but not in the shape which I ever denied. So also I have failed in my duty to some of your subjects, but this you have forgiven. I am young. You will say you have forgiven me over and over, and still I repeat my offences. May not a man of my age, for lack of counsel, fall twice or thrice, or fail in his promises, yet repent and be chastened by experience? If I be forgiven, I protest I shall never sin again. I desire nothing whatever but that we may live again at bed and board together as husband and wife; and if you will not consent to this, I shall never rise out of this bed. I pray you tell me your resolution. God knows how I am punished for making my god of you, and for having no other thought but on you. And if I am remiss towards you, you are yourself the cause; for when I have cause of offence, if I might take my complaint to yourself, I would go nowhere else; but when I hear rumours while you are estranged, I am of necessity compelled to keep it to myself, and this irritates me until it makes me beside myself with anger."

She says she answered him on each particular, but her part of the discussion was too long to be set down. Then follows the general purport of a talk about her husband's suspicions as to plots for his assassination, and his plans to escape abroad. The matters are briefly touched, as if the writing were to be read by one minutely acquainted with the particulars. Among these there is a certain "purpose of Heigate"—referring to a person so named, a servant of Bishop Beaton, whom Mary herself had charged with propagating a tale that the king was to take the young prince and have him crowned.[1] The impression made by these explanations, as by several others of a like kind dispersed through the correspondence, is that she has exhausted all the particulars of his fears, suspicions, and general grumblings, as completely as an able counsel draws out of an unwilling witness everything he knows.

[1] Letter to Beaton; Labanoff, i. 396.

She describes with a slight touch of scorn how she brings him on from suspicion to unwelcome demonstrations of tenderness. He wants her to sleep in his lodging, to walk with him, and to take him away with her when she goes. He refers at the same time to the terrors now dispelled. He believes she, his own flesh and blood, would do him no harm; and he boasts that others would find it difficult to assail him. Then comes one of the significant passages. If she did not know that his heart was of wax, while her own was of diamond, incapable of being penetrated from any quarter but the adored one she writes to, she might have almost had pity on the poor creature. But no fear; she will hold out: let him she addresses take heed that he be not seduced by that false race his wife's family. A little farther down she says they are coupled with two false races. "May the devil sever us from them, and God unite us together for ever!" Between the two allusions to the false races she asks if he is not inclined to laugh to see her lie so well, or at least dissemble with gleams of truth between. Next she is getting tired, and thinks of postponing her task till the morning; but she cannot sleep unless it were, as she would desire, in the arms of her dear love. Here she desires him to tell her what he intends to do in the matter he knows about, that nothing be mismanaged. Then come more tokens of weariness, and remarks on her husband's disease, which perhaps would not sound so offensive in the original French as in the translations. His breath, she says, has nearly slain her; and to realise its offensiveness, she tells Bothwell that it is worse than his own uncle's. She had almost forgotten to say that, in presence of the Lady Reres at supper, Livingston had rallied her on the sorrowful condition in which she had left a certain person at a distance.

The continuation appears to be a resumption next day. She had worked two hours at a bracelet for her beloved, trying to make it lock; he must be careful not to show it, for it has been seen, and will be at once traced to her. She is now going to recommence her detestable purpose. The lord of her heart makes her dissemble, so that she

feels like a traitress ; if it were not in obedience to him, she would rather die than do it—her heart bleeds at it. She found she had the work to do over again, and her husband was by no means so compliant as she had left him the evening before. He will not come with her unless she agree to live with him at bed and board as before ; and his suspicions crop out again, to be smoothed down by her skilful tongue. He will do whatever she desires, and will love herself and all that she loves. Then follow a few penitential words, and the old excuse that she is led by a hand she cannot resist. As a token of the implicitness of her obedience come in some words—very few, but so significant that they must touch with awe whoever comes incidentally across them, whether he believe them to be the woman's own, or forged by others for her condemnation. She prays her lord to consider whether the deed might not be done in some more secret way—by medicine, for there must be medicine with the bath at Craigmillar. Then another passionate wail about her horror of deceit—she would not do it for her own particular revenge, she does the bidding of the spirit that has mastered hers. A good deal there still is in the letter ; but it is incoherent repetition about her husband's suspicions and her own spells to lull them, the bracelet sent as a love-token, her jealousy of his wife's influence, and her assurance that she is ready to sacrifice honour, conscience, rank, and life itself for her chosen lord's love.

There are eight letters in all, but this one alone is longer than all the rest together. The second in order is a short querulous letter, complaining of forgetfulness and neglect ; her husband is still in a trusting and caressing humour ; she playfully remarks that her true lord may think he is making love to her and with success, but his very presence renews her infirmity in her side. One articulate announcement there is—she brings the man with her to Craigmillar on Monday, and there he will remain all Wednesday, while she goes into Edinburgh to be bled.

The third letter, set down as written from Glasgow in January, but not on a specific day, is rather purposeless. It shows that Bothwell apprehended danger from her pro-

fuse writing and her many messages, and she craves forgiveness for disobeying his injunction neither to write nor send; and yet there seems to be no practical object to be served in the letter—it looks like a mere irrepressible outburst of suspicion and jealousy of her rival the existing wife. She wonders whether that rival is to win over her what the second love of Jason won. There is something dramatic in the effect of this allusion to the Medea. The mind worked up to the point on which it tells, conscious that the letters recall some vision of love and jealousy drawing on their victim to hatred and murder, might, even unaided by the hint, have remembered the terrible creation of Euripides.[1] After much amorous and jealous raving, the letter ends with a brief notification that she was afraid to write in the presence of Joseph (Rizzio), Bastiat, and Joachim, and had to wait till they departed.

The next is a short letter in the same tone as the rest, but bearing on some incidental grumbling of her lord, as to something that one of her women had done which frightened or displeased him.

All these letters are attributed to the month of January; the next is, on the same ground—internal evidence—referred to April. It deals with the plot for carrying her off to Dunbar. She is distracted by the uncertainty of the arrangements and the insufficiency of his information for her guidance. Then comes to her in her perplexities his false brother Huntly, who, professing to act as his messenger to fix the time and place where he was to intercept her, breaks in with his croakings: It was a foolish enterprise, and with her honour she could not marry the man who carried her off while yet he was the husband of another; and then her majesty's guard in attendance would never be got to submit to such a humiliation. But she has now gone so far that she is resolved to complete the work. No persuasion, not the prospect of death itself, can shake her resolution. Then come jealous and

[1] In the 'Inventory of the Queen's Books in the Castle of Edinburgh, delivered by the Earl of Morton to King James VI.,' is 'The Historie of Jasone.'—Inventories, cxlvi.

querulous railings. Why call on her to fix the place? He should have adjusted all that, and told her. He has risked all through that false brother whom she does not trust with her letter; but if failure be the end, she will never raise her head again. The bearer will tell him her miserable plight; and what effect his vacillations and indistinct counsels must have on it let him judge. She had expected other things, but she sees the influence of absence and of that other one. He must not send an answer by Huntly; and so God give him good-night.

The next letter is a short piece of subtle casuistry. It looks forward to the way out of the difficulty into which they are plunging. She thinks his services, and the good esteem long entertained for him by his brother lords, may justify his pardon, should he take on himself beyond the duty of a subject—not to restrain her, but to assure himself of such a place near to her, that the persuasions or interference of others may not prevent her from consenting to realise the hopes which he may have founded on his services. To be short, let him make himself secure of the lords and free to marry; and let him represent that, to be able to serve his sovereign faithfully, he was driven to join an importunate act with a humble request. He knows, if he likes, how to set the matter in right trim, and will not neglect many fair words to Lethington. If he like not the deed, let him say so, and not leave the whole burden on her.

Circumstances gave those who had the handling of the letters the means of precisely dating the next on the 22d of April. It begins about his brother-in-law that was. There are no jealousies or suspicions of treachery in that quarter now; but he has perplexed her with doubts about the affair to come off the day after to-morrow, because there are many, and among them the Earl of Sutherland, who will rather die than see their sovereign lady carried off when under their protection. She is assured that he wishes to be honest, but she sees that he fears a charge of high treason. All this must foster caution and care. They had yesterday three hundred horse, including Lethington's; for the honour of God, let her lord be accom-

panied with rather more than less; and so she prays God that they may have a happy meeting.

There remains yet one letter, perhaps the most remarkable of all for the passionate vehemence with which it expresses the unconditional surrender of the writer's heart, its utter hopeless captivity, its owner's abject resignation to the will and humour of the victor, mixed with faint but agonised wailings about the incompleteness of the return, the stint of that full flow of entire reciprocity which is now the breath of her life. There is now no jealousy of another. There are no uncertainties or plans or difficulties. It is fervid passion throughout, pressing forth with a vehemence that seems almost to choke the utterer. It is coloured throughout with extreme dejection and sadness, like a consciousness of the shadow of coming calamity.

Of the tell-tale contents of the casket there still remain to be dealt with some verses called "The Sonnets." They are divided into sets of fourteen lines each; but there is no separate unity of purpose in each of these sets, nor do they contain any other specialty of the sonnet proper. That she was acquainted with these specialties is shown by a real sonnet written after long imprisonment and affliction. It condenses into unity those solemn verses scattered through the ninth and tenth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews which speak of the old material sacrifices of slain animals as superseded by one atonement, which requires of mankind only the purifying qualities of faith and humility. It is clear that the casket sonnets have been a continuous poem, cut up by the translator or editor into pieces of the canonical length of the sonnet, but without entire success, since the whole was not divisible by fourteen, and the last of the sonnets contains only six lines.

There is, in fact, a unity of purpose throughout the whole. It is a wild wailing of love, jealousy, and despair. She is withheld from the object of her frantic adoration by the double marriage—nay, worse, by his attachment to her rival. And what sacrifice does that rival make to be set beside all that *she* is prepared to lay down? If the

other gives love, she has love in return. She is protected by the respectable bond of matrimony. She has been a worldly gainer, for she has been elevated by the favour which the devotion of another has conferred on her husband. And that other—what is *she* not ready to sacrifice? Rank and position; but these are nothing. Her life, her fair fame, her infant child, her immortal soul—all will be thrown at his feet.

There is no Latin translation of the sonnets; and in their Scots and French guise they have little to adorn them but the sheer fervency of their passionateness.[1] Brantome spoke of them as unworthy of her pen; but there is scarcely any chance that he could have seen the contents of the casket, and a retranslation from Scots into French would be poor material for testing the merits of the original. Nor is it quite clear whether he is giving us his own opinion, or merely the result of conversation with others. French critics of the present day do not confirm the popular notion that Queen Mary was gifted with the genius of poetry. They even talk disrespectfully of those lines on the death of her husband which Brantome himself preserved and published as a testimony to her genius.[2] French critics have gone farther of late, and deposed poor Mary from the poetical rank which she held as the reputed author of some pretty lines bidding adieu to her beloved France.[3]

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[1] As printed in the Detection they are called "Certane Frenche sonnettis writtin be the Queen of Scottis to Bothwel befoir hir marriage with him, and (as it is said) while hir husband levit, but certainly befoir his divorce from his wyfe, as the words themselfs shaw." —Forbes, ii. 115.

[2] M. Chasles, in his 'Etudes sur W. Shakspeare, Marie Stuart, et L'Arétin'—a curious conjunction—calls these lines "rimes barbares," and says, "L'expression en est dure et la pensée vulgaire."—P 23.

[3] "Adieu, plaisant pays de France!
O ma patrie,
La plus chérie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance!
Adieu, France! adieu, nos beaux jours!
La nef qui dejoint nos amours
N'a eu de moi que la moitié
Une parte te reste, elle est tienne,
Je la fie a ton amitié
Pour que de l'autre il te souvienne."

There is still another piece of poetry—the admitted work of Queen Mary—with which the sonnets may be compared. When her councillor and ambassador, Bishop Leslie, was imprisoned in the Tower for his zeal in her cause, he wrote a book of meditations, which he sent to the queen. She was pleased with the gift, and comforted by its perusal; and under this influence sent in return, in a poetical shape, her own meditations upon his.[1] An effort, supposed to be longer and more ambitious, on 'The Institution of a Prince,' has unfortunately been lost sight of.[2]

There are two theories on which the guilty conclusion to which the casket documents point has been resisted with great perseverance and gallantry: the one is that, as we now see them, they have been tampered with; the other, that they are forgeries from the beginning.

All questions raised on the prior theory are at once settled by the fact that those to whom the letters were first shown drew conclusions from them as damnatory

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M. Philarete Chasles having started a doubt as to the reputed authorship of these lines, the question was taken up and hunted to its conclusion by Fournier, and the result will be found in that amusing book, 'L'Esprit dans l'Histoire.' He proves that the lines were written in Queen Mary's name by Meusnier de Querlon, and first published by him in 1765 in his 'Anthologie.' It gives a zest to his success to be able to quote from the pompous M. Dargaud, who, speaking of Mary and her genius, says, "Ces vers sont désormais inséparables de son nom." Querlon was accustomed to such tricks; or, as Fournier says, "prenait volontiers plaisir à ces sortes de mystifications littéraires." He published a little book called 'Les Innocentes Impostures;' but all his were by no means innocent. He was the editor of one of the editions of the infamous book, 'Meursii Elegantiæ Latinæ Sermonis,' in which the foulest pruriences that the language could express were published as the production of a virtuous and distinguished scholar.

[1] 'Meditation fait par la Reyne d'Escoce, Dovairière de France, recueillie d'un Livre des Consolations Divines, composez par l'Evesque de Ross;' Bannatyne Miscellany, i. 343.

[2] "The queen, his majesty's mother, wrote a book of verses in French, of the Institution of a Prince, all with her oune hand, wrought the cover of it with her needle, and is now of his majesty esteemed a most precious jewel."—Montague's Preface to the Works of King James. It is stated by the same author that Darnley translated Valerius Maximus.

as any they can now suggest. Little more than a month after the documents were in possession of the confederates —on the 25th of July—Throckmorton, the English ambassador, got sufficient information to write home that "they mean to charge her with the murder of her husband, whereof, they say, they have as apparent proof against her as may be, as well by the testimony of her own handwriting, which they have recovered, as also by sufficient witnesses."[1] Farther still, Sir Ralph Sadler made what may be called a *précis* of the significant portions of the documents. According to the natural practice on such occasions, he briefly sweeps over the trivial or indistinct passages, and dwells on those which convey significant conclusions, translating them at full length; and these translations echo the corresponding passages in the letters, as we now possess them, with decisive precision.[2]

The theory of an entire forgery seems not to have occurred to any of those friends or foes of the queen who saw the documents. In the Parliament held in December there were several of her partisans present, such as Huntly, Athole, Errol, Herries, and others; but we have no hint anywhere that they stood up for her fame, or had anything to say, when, in the very body of an Act of Parliament, the nature of the documents and the guilty conclusion drawn from them were set forth in the plainest and severest terms.[3] The theory of forgery, indeed, seems to

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[1] Keith, 426.

[2] Sadler State Papers, ii. 337. Sadler, with his usual methodicalness, divides his notes of the papers under three heads: 1. "The special words in the Queen of Scotts' lettres, written with her oune hand to Bothwell, declaring the inordynate and filthie love betwixt hir and him." 2. "The specyall words in the said lettres declaring her hatred and detestacion of her husbande." 3. "The specyall words of the saide lettres touching and declaring the conspiracie of her husband's deth."

[3] "Anent the Retention of our Sovreane Lord's Motheris Person" (Act 1567, c. 19). Here the Parliament, among their reasons for their conduct towards her, say it is to be attributed to "her own default, in sa far as be divers her privie letters written halely with her ain hand, and send be her to James, sometime Earl of Bothwell,

have become prevalent only after any appeal to the original writings, and to the recollection of the persons referred to in them, had ceased to be practicable. And it is impossible not to connect the absence of contemporary impugnment with a notable peculiarity in the documents. They are so affluent in petty details about matters personally known to those who could have contradicted them if false, that the forger of them could only have scattered around him, in superfluous profusion, allusions that must have been traps for his own detection.

Wherever any of these petty matters comes to the surface elsewhere, it is in a shape to confirm the accuracy of the mention made of them in these letters. For instance, take the "purpose of Heigate," referred to in the first letter. In no history, letter, or state paper of the day, is that matter referred to except one, and that is a confidential letter by the queen herself to Archbishop Beaton, in which she desires him to warn his servants not to prate on such matters, and refers, just as in the casket letter, to the story having been spoken of by Walker, a servant of Beaton's, and told to Lennox by the Laird of Minto.[1] Again there is a reference in the same letter to a matter, the explanation of which has cast up only the other day. Among other inquiries which teased her, as showing that the sick man knew more about her doings than she liked, was an inquiry whether she "had made her State." This State is now visible in the papers published by M. Teulet; and a very important document it is, being a recasting of the pensions and salaries of officers chargeable on Mary's income as Queen-dowager of France. The sum total, of which it records the distribution, exceeds thirty thousand livres—an enormous sum in that day. The unseen existence of this separate expenditure, and of the official persons to whom it passed, has caused occasional tripping among historians, who are at a loss to account for persons who, like Rizzio and his brother, are spoken of as holding

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chief executer of the said horrible murther, as well before the committing thereof as thereafter."—Act. Parl., iii. 27.

[1] Labanoff, i. 397.

distinguished offices, while no trace of them in their official position can be found in the constitutional records of the country. The document is signed by the queen and her private secretary, Joseph Rizzio; and its date, 13th February 1567, coincides with its being under consideration about the time of the momentous visit to Glasgow.[1]

It will not readily be admitted that any weight should be given to coincidences between the casket letters and the facts narrated in the dying confessions of the inferior persons executed for the murder. There was a person less open to suspicion, however, who was an eye and ear witness at some of the scenes described in these letters, and his testimony concerning them was recorded in a very peculiar manner. This was Thomas Craufurd of Jordanhill, who was, as we have seen, present when Darnley in his sick-bed received the memorable visit from his wife. It is stated, in the Journal of the commissioners who sat at York, that this man was brought to give evidence before them. It was found that the evidence he had to give was something much more clear and specific than any mere recollection of past events. He stated that old Lord Lennox, being afraid, as we have seen, to trust himself away from his own fortress and his own people, while he was in a state of great anxiety and suspicion about the object of the unexpected visit, had instructed Craufurd, who was nearly allied to the house of Lennox, carefully to note down all he saw or could learn of what went on. Craufurd said he not only set down in writing what he was witness to, but that the king was very communicative

[1] 'Estat des gaiges des dames, damoiselles, gentilzhommes, et outres officiers domesticques de la Royne d'Escosse, Douairière de France;' Teulet (8vo), ii. 268. This document would be sent to France as a warrant for the respective payments announced by it. By far the greater portion of the recipients are French; and some who perhaps are not so are not easily recognisable as Scots—for instance, Ceton for Seton, and Letinthon for Lethington. The highest salary, however, goes to a Scot—Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who gets 3060 livres. It may be noted, for what it is worth, that Bothwell's name does not occur in this list of beneficiaries. The editor of Queen Mary's Inventories notices the identification of this document with the "State" mentioned in the casket letter.

to him about the private interviews with the queen, at which no third person was present. According to the record of his testimony, he stated "that he did, immediately at the same time, write the same, word by word, as near as he possibly could carry the same away; and sure he was that the words now reported in his writing concerning the communication betwixt the Queen of Scots and him upon the way near Glasgow, are the very same words, on his conscience, that were spoken; and that others being reported to him by the king are the same in effect and substance as they were delivered by the king to him, though not, percase, in all parts the very words themselves." This document being read to the commissioners, Craufurd affirmed it, "upon his corporal oath there taken to be true."[1]

It has often surprised me that, although casually referred to as in existence, this paper should not have been printed among the documents, many of them less expressive, which have been heaped together in the collections regarding Queen Mary. It could not fail to be extremely instructive on the one side or on the other. Guided to its existence in the Record Office at the Rolls by the Calendars recently issued, an opportunity has been found of comparing it with the casket letter.

Of the result I can only say that the two agree together with an overwhelming exactness.[2] Of course every one is

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[1] The Journal of the Commissioners, apud Westminster, die Jovis, nono die Decembris 1568; Anderson, iv. 169.

[2] The following may suffice as a specimen :—

Craufurd's Testimony.	The Casket Letter.
"She asked him of hys sicknesse; he aunswered, that she was the cause thereof. And moreover, he saide, 'Ye asked me what I ment bye the crueltye specified in mye lettres; yat procedethe of yow onelye, that wille not accepte mye offres and repentance. I confesse that I have failed in som thingis, and yet greater faultes have bin made to yow sundrye times, which	"'Ze ask me quhat I mene be the crueltie contenit in my letter; it is of zow alone, that will not accept my offeris and repentance. I confes that I have failit, bot not into that quhilk I ever denyit; and sicklyke hes failit to sindrie of *zour subjectis*, quhilk ze have forgevin. I am zoung. Ze wil say, that ze have forgevin me oft tymes, and zit yat I returne to my faultis. May

at liberty to maintain that Craufurd's statement is entirely false, and that it was got up to support a forgery. In such repudiations, as in the length to which St Denis could carry his head, the first step is everything. It might also be maintained that the memorandum of Craufurd being true, afforded the conspirators the materials from which they could work up the details of their little picture of a domestic interior. Before adopting, however, any theory

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ye have forgiven. I am but yonge, and ye will saye ye have forgivne me diverse tymes. Maye not a man of mye age, for lacke of counselle, of which I am verye destitute, falle twise or thrise, and yet repent, and be chastised bye experience? Gif I have made anye faile that ye but thinke a faile, howe soever it be, I crave your pardone, and proteste that I shall never faile againe. I desire no other thinge but that we maye be togethere as husband and wife. And if ye will not consent hereto, I desire never to rise forthe of this bed. Therefore, I praye yow, give me an aunswer hereunto. God knoweth howe I am punished for making mye god of yow, and for having no other thought but on yow. And if at anie tyme I offend yow, ye are the cause; for that when aine offendethe me, if for my refuge I might open mye minde to yow, I woulde speake to no other; but when anie thinge is spoken to me, and ye and I not beinge as husband and wife ought to be, necessite compellethe me to kepe it in my brest, and bringethe me in such melancolye as ye see me in.'

"She aunswered, that it semed hym she was sorye for his sicknesse, and she woulde finde remedye therfore so sone as she might.

"She asked him whye he would have passed awaye in the Englishe shippe.

"He aunswered, that he had spoken with the Englishe man, but not of minde to goe awaie with him; and if he had, it had not bin without not ane man of my age, for lacke of counsell, fall twyse or thryse, or in lacke of his promeis, and at last repent himself, and be chastisit *be experience?* Gif I may obtane pardoun, I protest I sall never mak fault agane. And I craif na uther thing, bot yat we may be at bed and buird togidder as husband and wyfe; and gif ze will not consent heirunto, I sall never ryse out of yis bed. I pray zow, tell me zour resolutioun. God knawis how I am punischit for making my god of zow, and for having na uther thocht but on zow; and gif at ony tyme I offend zow, ze ar the caus, becaus quhen ony offendis me, gif for my refuge I micht playne unto zow, I wald speik it unto na uther body; bot quhen I heir ony thing, not being familiar with zow, necessitie constrains me to keip it in my breist, and yat causes me to tyne my wit for verray anger.'

"I answerit ay unto him, bot that wald be ovir lang to wryte at lenth. I askit quhy he wald pas away in ye Inglis schip. He denyis it, and sweiris thairunto; bot he grantis that he spak with the men. Efter this I inquyrit him of the inquisitioun of Hiegait. He denyit the same, quhill I schew him the verray wordis was spokin; at quhilk tyme he said that Mynto had advertisit him that it was said that sum of the Counsell had brocht ane letter to me to be subscrivit to put him in presoun, and to slay him gif he maid resistence. And he askit the same at Mynto himself; quha answerit, that he belevit ye same to

against the genuineness of this document, it would be well for the enthusiast to weigh the possible influence of that darkly suggestive conversation between Darnley and his kinsman, in which they exchange their suspicions about the unexpected visit—suspicions in which murder is an element.[1]

Such theories, and the impossibility of confuting them to the conviction of those who choose to maintain them, is one of the incidents of the rather forensic tone in which the great controversy about Queen Mary has been conducted. A leaf has been taken from the Old Bailey, and it has been maintained that she should be counted innocent until she is proved guilty. But in the legal sense this is impossible about long-past events. To comply with it,

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cause, consideringe howe he was used. For he had neather to susteine him sellfe nor hys servantes, and neded not make farder rehersalle thereof, seinge she knewe it as well as he.

"Then she asked him of the purpose of Hegate. He aunswered, it was tolde him.

"She required howe and by whome it was tolde him.

"He aunswered, that the L. of Minto tolde him that a lettre was presented to her in Cragmillar, made bye her owne divise and subscribed bye certaine others, who desired her to subscrive the same, which she refused to doe; and he said that he would never thinke that she, who was hys owne propper fleshe, would do him anie hurte; and if anie other woulde do it, theye should bye it dere, unlesse theye tooke him slepinge, albeit he suspected none. So he desired her effectuouslye to beare him companye. For she ever founde som adoe to draw her sellfe from him to her owne lodginge, and would never abyde with him paste two houres at once."

be trew. The morne I wil speik to him upon this point. As to the rest of Willie Hiegait's he confessit it; bot it was the morne efter my cumming or he did it."

[1] See above, p. 184. Since this was written, the policy of the "Vindicators" has declared itself. As if by a common understanding, they have found that the testimony of Craufurd is the text on which the letter was forged.

we would require to place Craufurd in the witness-box, cross-question him, and search the world for testimony until we fill up all gaps and explain all inconsistencies. These things are the strong securities with which the law surrounds the rights of living men, especially their lives or their liberties. We all know multitudes of things which are not judicially proved, which we could not judicially prove; yet the law requires that before we act on them, to the injury of our neighbour, they shall be so proved. If the life or liberty of a British subject could be made to depend either on proving Queen Mary guilty or proving her innocent, neither could be made out in such a manner as to secure a verdict. At the present day we have no evidence on which we could hang Felton, who stabbed the Duke of Buckingham in Charles I.'s time, or even the man who shot Spencer Perceval. It would be the same with the death of Cæsar and the execution of Charles I. Such a way of going to work would blot out history, by making its parts extinguish each other, like the equivalents in an equation. If Queen Mary is entitled to the benefit of all doubts, the confederate lords who brought the charges and evidence against her are entitled to the benefit of all doubts to protect their character from the stigma of conspiracy. It has been often pressed in this controversy that an accuser takes nothing by character. This too belongs to the courts of criminal justice as a constitutional protection of life and liberty. The accuser is a law officer of the crown, a man of high social position and spotless integrity; the accused is the hero of a hundred robberies, and has passed the greater part of his adult life in prison. Yet the question at issue must be determined by the strictest rules of evidence, and it is only in the weight of the punishment that character tells. But in coming to a mere opinion, we cannot help the solution of the question, whether, from antecedents and accompanying conditions, it is more likely that the accused had done something to justify the charge, than that those who made it had conspired to bring it home by mendacity and forgery.

The judge may be bound to release the accused, although in his secret heart believing him to be guilty; but

in history belief is all, and belief cannot be resisted when it comes, nor can a leaning to the stronger probabilities where there is doubt, let the effect on the fame of some long-dead actor in the history of the world be what it will.

But while thus tenacious of the privileges of an accused person, these enthusiasts demand a conclusion from which such a person is excluded by the act of seeking their protection. The verdict of "not guilty" founded on imperfection in the evidence, is no proclamation of innocence. Its tenor is generally more distinctly interpreted by an expressive form in use in Scotland. When the jury do not find reason to proclaim a case of calumniated innocence, but give the accused the benefit of defective evidence, they find a verdict of "not proven." It would perhaps surprise some enthusiasts of the present day to find contemporary vindicators going no further than the demand of a verdict of "not proven." Their reason was the same material one that influences modern trials. They maintained that there was no sufficient case made out for depriving the queen of her sovereignty and liberty. The evidence against her was not conclusive, and she should have had the benefit of the doubt. Those who believe in her as a saint martyred by wicked men, would find disagreeable revelations in reading what is said by the early class of vindicators.[1]

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[1] Take, for instance, the following by the man who knew her best of all her supporters—Bishop Leslie, in his 'Defence of the Honour of the Right High and Noble Princess Marie, Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France,' printed in the name of 'Morgan Philips, Bachelor in Divinity:' "I would, then, farther demand of them what authority they had to summon and assemble a Parliament? And whether this fact of hers, supposing she were shown guilty, deserveth in her, being a prince, and considering how heinously the Lord Darnley had offended her and the crown of Scotland, such extreme punishment to be levied upon her for one simple murther, especially by them that committed that shameful murther upon her secretary, that have committed so many treasons, and daily do commit so many horrible murthers upon the queen's true loving subjects? How many, and how cruel and terrible deaths do such traitors deserve! We have, moreover, to demand of them, whereas they pretend a marvellous and a singular zeal to religion and holy Scripture, and to measure all their doings precisely by Scripture and order thereof,

Though this controversy has produced dazzling achievements of ingenuity and sagacity, I would be inclined not so much to press technical points of evidence as to look to the general tone and character of the whole story. In this view, nothing appears to me more natural than the casket letters. They fit entirely into their place in the dark history of events. They are thoroughly characteristic of one who, inheriting the common blood of James IV., the Tudors, and the Guises, was trained at a Court where good faith, justice, and mercy were represented by Catherine of Medici, and the social morals were those of the 'Dames Galantes' of Brantome and the novels of Queen Marguerite.

Suppose it to have been settled in conclave that such a set of letters were to be forged, who was there with the genius to accomplish the feat? Nowhere else, perhaps, has the conflict of the three passions, love, jealousy, and hatred, been so powerfully stamped in utterance. Somewhat impoverished though it may be in the echo of a foreign medium, we have here the reality of that which the masters of fiction have tried in all ages, with more or less success, to imitate. They have striven to strip great events of broad, vulgar, offensive qualities, and to excite sensations which approach to sympathy with human imperfections. And, indeed, these letters stir from their very foundation the sensations which tragic genius endeavours to arouse. We cannot, in reading them, help a touch of sympathy, or it may be compassion, towards the gifted being driven in upon the torrent of relentless passions, even though the end to which she drifts is the breaking of the highest laws, human and divine. A touch of tenderness towards those illustrious persons who show their participation in the frailty of our common nature by imperfections as transcendent as their capacities, is one

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what sufficient warrant they have therein, by their private authority, to lay violent hands upon their anointed prince? I find there that King David was both an adulterer and also a murtherer. I find that God was highly displeased with him therefor; yet find I not that he was therefor by his subjects deposed."—Anderson's Collection, i. 56.

of the mysterious qualities of the human heart, and here it has room for indulgence. In fact, it is the shade that gives impressiveness to the picture. With all her beauty and wit, her political ability and her countless fascinations, Mary, Queen of Scots, would not have occupied nearly the half of her present place in the interest of mankind had the episode of Bothwell not belonged to her story.

The question, Who could have forged such documents? receives in no quarter a distinct answer. In other instances of attempted identification, as of Eikon Basiliké, or the Letters of Junius, attempts have been made to bring the matter home by identifying specialties of style, method of handling, and turns of thought. No one, however, has tried to prove that these documents resemble any one's acknowledged writings.

Buchanan is the person naturally hinted at as the author of the contents of the casket, having been the first to draw public attention to them. But if we suppose him morally capable of such an act, it is pretty clear that it did not come within his intellectual capacity, extensive as that was. The little domesticities in the letters would not suit the majestic march of his pen. In the Detection, to which he appended the documents, he shows that, had he prepared these himself, he would certainly have overdrawn them. In fact, in that philippic the great scholar and poet shows that, although he may have known politics on a large scale, he was not versed in the intricacies of the human heart. Everything is with him utterly and palpably vile and degrading, without any redeeming or mitigating element. The love that, if wicked, yet takes the tone of feminine attachment and pure devotedness, becomes in his hand mere lust, breaking out in brutal and degrading acts. The flagrant proceedings of this guilty couple, and their pander the Lady Reres, a cast-off mistress of Bothwell's, sometimes even admit of ludicrous postures, which the author describes with sarcastic zest. The quarrels of the king and queen are like those that might pass between a passionate strolling actress and the good-for-nothing husband she has to support by her talents. She starves him and lets him go in rags, while the favourite

fares sumptuously and is endowed with stately dresses and jewellery. She grudges him the charge of a physician in his sickness. She carries off his service of plate, and replaces it with pewter. A quantity of incredible charges are heaped up; and among others, that she tempted her husband into acts of low profligacy, that she might get him divorced, "to make empty bedroom for Bothwell." She sleeps soundly with a satisfied mind, when she hears that her husband is dead—she gloats over his dead body, unwilling to take her eyes from so delightful a sight—she insults it with the sordidness of the funeral appliances—her glee is irrepressible, and will not be controlled by any usages of Court etiquette or even common decorum. She lays plots to open a deadly feud between her husband and Murray, in the hope that one of them may fall—little matter which, it will be a hatred the less to her. And what was he for whom she sacrificed herself, body and soul? He was not only polluted by the vilest crimes, but he had none of the external qualities with which bad men varnish their wickedness. He was hideously ugly, boorish in manner, a babbler in talk, and a coward in action. Where, then, was the attraction? In the common degradation of the two—their cruelty, falsehood, and lust. It is, perhaps, not the least incongruous feature of this picture, with its blacks and whites, that the victim stands, in contrast with his slayer, as endowed with constancy, truthfulness, and general goodness.

But while those who have gone into the intricacies of the story cannot accept the conclusions of the Detection, they cannot read it without acknowledging that it is a great work of rhetorical art. It bears up throughout the grand forms of ancient classical denunciation, rising, with blow after blow, up to the thundering climax. It is for this reason that it is so extravagant. It was among the rhetoricians a *tour de force*, as the French say, to make the denunciation perfect—a total annihilation of a cause or a character; and any ray of light or hope, any redeeming touch, was a defect, almost an infringement of the great principles of rhetoric.

Such a work, put forth in the common language of the

learned by its greatest master, had immense influence over Europe. It was paralleled by a scarcely less remarkable translation for the benefit of the people of Scotland. This conveys a very distinct impression of the power of the old Scots tongue, and its capacity to march alongside of the language of Rome, preserving the same grand historic step. It will be found to differ much from Knox's style, though both wrote powerfully, and were adepts in denunciation. To say that Knox has a touch of vulgarity would not be correct; but he is more homely. He affected to write in the English of the day; and though his style is abundantly rich, it wants a certain sinewy terseness which his friend and coadjutor finds in the old Scots tongue.[1]

With all its exaggerations and extravagancies, the Detection is the work of a man thoroughly sincere. Buchanan believed in the fundamental fact of the guilt, and he brought out his belief in the fashion of his special accomplishments as a classical scholar, with due devotion

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[1] "Albeit thir thingis were thus done as I have declairit, yit thair ar sum that stick not to say that the quene was not onely hardly, but alswa cruelly delt with; that efter sa detestabill ane fact, sche was removit from regiment; and quhen they cannot deny the fact, they complane of the punischment. I do not think thair wil be any man sa schameles to think that sa horribill ane fact aucht to have na punischment at all; bot if thay complane of the grevousnes of the penaltie, I feir leist to all gude men we may seme not to have done sa gentilly and temperately as lously and negligently, that have laid sa licht ane pane upon ane offence sa haynous, and sic as was never hard of befoir. For quhat can be done cruelly aganis the author of sa outragious ane deid, quhairin all lawis of God and man ar violatit, despysit, and in maner haillely extinguischit? Everie severall offence hes his punischment baith be God and man appointit. And as thair be certane degreis of evill deidis, sa ar thair also incressis in the quantiteis of punischmentis. If ane have slane a man, it is ane deid of itself verray haynous. Quhat if he have slane his familiar freind? Quhat if his father? Quhat if in ane foull fact he had joynit all thir offencis togidder? Surely of sic a ane nouther can his lyfe suffice for imposing, nor his body for beiring, nor the judge's policie for inventing, pane aneuch for him. Quhilk of thir faultis is now comprysit in this offence? I omit the meane commoun materis—the murthering of ane young gentilman, ane innocent, hir countriman, hir kinnisman, hir familiar, and hir cousing-germane. Let us also

to the method of the rhetoricians. There are accusations in the Detection not to be believed, and yet the statement of them there is an important revelation. It gives us the popular feeling about Queen Mary. This feeling, of course, arose and had its chief seat among the populace of Edinburgh, before whom the tragedies of her reign had been acted. But it was a period of action and excitement, and whatever moved the centre was taken to the extremities of the country by the burgesses and lairds who

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excuse ye fact, if it be possibill sche unadvisidly, ane young woman, angrie, offendit, and ane of greit innocencie of lyfe till this tyme, has slane ane lewd young man, ane adulterer, ane unkynde husband, and ane cruelle king. If not ony ane, bot all thir respectis togidder, wer in this mater, thay aucht not to availe to schift of all punischment, bot to rais sum pietie of the cace. Bot quhat say ye, that nain of thir thingis can sa mekle as be falsly pretendit? The fact itself, of itself is odious in ane woman; it is monstrous in ane wyfe, not onely excessively luifit, bot also maist zealously honourit—it is incredibill. And being committit aganis him quhais age craifit pardone, quhais hartly affectioun requyrit lufe, quhais neirnes of kyn askit reverence, quhais innocencie micht have deservit favour—upon that young man, I say, in quhome thair is not sa mekle as alledgeit ony just caus of offence thus to execute and spend, yea, to exceid all tormentis dew to all offencis, in quhat degre of crueltie sall we accompt it? Bot let thir thingis availl in uther personnis to rais haitrent, to bring punischment, and to mak exempillis to posteritie. Bot in this cace let us beir mekle with hir youth, mekle with hir nobilitie, mekle with the name of ane prince. As for myne awin part, I am not ane that think it alway gude to use extreme straitnes of law—na, not in private, meane, and commoun personnis. Bot in ane maist haynous misdeid, to dissolve all force of law, and quhair is na measure of ill-doing, thair to discend beneth all measure in punisching, wer the way to the undoing of all lawis, and the overthraw of all humane societie. Bot in this ane horribill act is sic ane hotch-potch of all abhominabil doingis, sic ane egernes of all outragious crueltie, sic ane forgetfulness of all naturall affectioun, as nathing mair can be fengeit or imaginit."—Anderson's Collection, ii. 85-88.

This is the work of a mind saturated with the spirit which comes to its perfection in the oration against Verres: "Quod si hæc non ad cives Romanos, non ad aliquos amicos nostræ civitatis, non ad eos qui populi Romani nomen audissent; denique si non ad homines verum ad bestias; aut etiam ut longius progrediar, si in aliqua desertissima solitudine, ad saxa et ad scopulos hæc conqueri et deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atqua inanima, tanta et tam indigna rerum atrocitate commoverentur"

attended the Estates, and the clergy and lay members of the Assembly. It is its foundation on popular feeling that gives the Detection its tone of vehemence and confidence. The declaimer will not be at the trouble of going into the evidence; the thing is notorious, the public voice is filled with it.

The fallaciousness of such a test is proverbial. The atmosphere of public rumour that surrounds any marvel is sure to exaggerate and distort it. But the existence of that atmosphere is in itself an important psychological phenomenon; and of such a phenomenon we have a vivid picture in the Detection. It is a truer echo of public opinion than we can find in Knox, because it is the echo of reaction. To Knox she was a Popish Jezebel from the beginning. But Buchanan, though a zealous Protestant, had a good deal of the catholic and sceptical spirit of Erasmus, and an admiring eye for everything that was great and beautiful. Like the rest of his countrymen, he bowed himself in presence of the lustre that surrounded the early career of his mistress. More than once he expressed his pride and reverence in the inspiration of a genius deemed by his learned contemporaries to be worthy of the theme. There is not, perhaps, to be found elsewhere in literature so solemn a memorial of shipwrecked hopes, of a sunny opening and a stormy end, as one finds in turning the leaves of the volume which contains the beautiful epigram 'Nympha Caledoniæ' in one part, the 'Detectio Mariæ Reginæ' in another; and this contrast is no doubt a faithful parallel of the reaction in the popular mind. This reaction seems to have been general, and not limited to the Protestant party; for the conditions under which it became almost a part of the creed of the Church of Rome to believe in her innocence had not arisen.

To come back to the contents of the casket, which were first made public along with the Detection. The question of their genuineness is surrounded by doubts and disputes; but about another matter there can be no doubt —namely, that the party in power resolved to treat them as genuine, and steer their policy accordingly. She was

to be dealt with as a murderess. Whatever demands might be made on her were to be backed by the prospect of a public trial and the block. It was a tacit foreshadow of strong measures that both the English ambassador and a special envoy from the Court of France were refused access to the queen. If she was still queen, this was a deadly affront to two great powers, and there could be no way out of the difficulty but a dethronement.

The secret counsels of the confederates were not long of coming out in action. On the 23d of July the Lord Lindsay and Robert Melville set off on a memorable mission to Lochleven. They presented to the queen two documents, which she must sign: the one a renunciation of her crown in favour of her son; the other, an appointment of Murray to the office of regent during the child's minority. Several stories got afloat about what passed at this interview. It was said that Melville, who had a preliminary private interview with her, carried, concealed in the sheath of his sword, a letter from a friend, recommending her to consent to everything, as all she did while under restraint might be revoked. Another account says that Lindsay, provoked by her obstinacy, lost his temper and used violence. But Mary's was not the spirit to be broken by brute force. The influence that made her sign the deeds must have been crushing indeed. There is no doubt that the tenor of the casket letters was brought before her; indeed the first rumour of their existence was in a letter written two days afterwards by Throckmorton, stating that the confederates boasted of possessing sure evidence of her guilt. At all events the deeds were signed. Of course documents of so much moment were drawn up in the perfection of formality. They do not contain a hint of guilt or a reference to Bothwell. Any one alighting on them as they are recorded in the statute-book, without any explanation from the events of the age, might take them for the voluntary utterance of one weary of the cares of a throne, going like the Emperor Charles V. to seek consolation in the calm of monastic life. She declares the act to be done of her own free will; and of her motive to it, that, "after long, great, and in-

tolerable pains and labours taken by us since our arrival within our realm for government thereof, and keeping of the lieges of the same in quietness, we have not only been vexed in our spirit, body, and senses thereby, but also at length are altogether so wearied thereof that our ability and strength of body is not able to endure the same." The deed of demission appointed, as a commission of regency in Murray's absence, the head of the house of Hamilton, Lennox, Argyle, Athole, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar. The affixing of the privy seal was wanted for these documents, but the keeper refused so to use it. This little difficulty was got over by Lindsay, who took it from him by force. The documents were ratified in Parliament, with a declaration that the prince's title was as effectual as if his mother, at the time of his coronation, "had been departed out of this mortal life."

From the date of these documents Mary Stewart ceases to appear as sovereign in the public proceedings of the realm, and the reign of King James VI. begins.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

INTERREGNUM.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS FOLLOWING ON THE ABDICATION OF QUEEN MARY—THE CLAIMS OF THE HAMILTONS—THE CORONATION OF THE INFANT PRINCE—THE ORGANISATION OF THE REGENCY—MURRAY RECALLED FROM FRANCE—HIS VISIT TO HIS SISTER—INAUGURATED AS REGENT—TAKES EDINBURGH CASTLE OUT OF BALFOUR'S HANDS—A PARLIAMENT—POSITION OF SCOTLAND TOWARDS FRANCE AND ENGLAND—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S HIGH DEMANDS—THROCKMORTON SENT TO ASSERT THEM—HOW HE FARED IN HIS MISSION—CONFERENCES WITH MURRAY AND LETHINGTON—ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE HAMILTONS — POPULAR FEELING ABOUT QUEEN MARY—EFFECT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S INTERFERENCE.

THE confederates having disposed of their troublesome and dangerous mistress somewhat to their satisfaction, the more active spirits among them set to the task of organising a working government. There had been a great revolution in the state of Scotland. Those who have noticed in history the influence on the popular mind of such convulsive changes cannot look into the conditions attending Queen Mary's abdication without feeling them to be exceptional in the remarkable calmness of the people, and the precision of action in those who took the lead. All the arrangements were well adapted to baffle any bold ambitious man who might attempt to break in on the plans of the leaders and establish a separate interest. The abdication of the queen was carefully worded, so as to be nothing unless it transferred the crown to her

son. It was not called an abdication, but a transfer, merely bearing that "we have demitted and renounced the office of government of this our realm and lieges thereof, in favours of our only most dear son, native prince of this our realm." The infant, fourteen months old, could neither reject nor modify this adjustment, nor could others do so in his name. The "letter of demission," as it was termed, makes provision for a regency during the minority of the king. The regent is to be "our dearest brother, James, Earl of Murray." As he is furth of the kingdom, however, a provisional regency is established to act in his absence. It is to consist of Hamilton and his heir, Lennox, and several other magnates. This nomination is followed by a provision of more importance. In case Murray, on his return to Scotland, "refuse to accept the said office of regentrie upon his singular person," then he is to be one of a collective regency, consisting otherwise of the temporary regents. This document, and the character of the transactions connected with it, give the impression that Murray had done nothing to entitle his friends to count on his acceptance of the chief power.

When those concerned in the new arrangements estimated the difficulties in their way, they thought the most formidable of these likely to arise in the claims of the house of Hamilton. That family could not forget that now only an infant stood between them and the throne. The selection of Murray as the chief ruler of the country was ominous to them. The distance between legitimacy and illegitimacy had widened since the days when the legitimacy of Robert III. was questioned and left unsettled; but statesmanship had not, like the civil law, established that a bastard was counted the child of no father.

In most of the Courts of Europe the illegitimate family took rank immediately after the legitimate, and at almost every great Court there was a prince called the Bastard. Not long time had elapsed since one of this class nearly made himself King of Spain. More astounding things than the seizure of royal power had been accomplished by

clever, courageous, and unscrupulous men with Murray's opportunities; and Murray was both clever and courageous, whatever may be said about his scrupulosity. His very call to the regency was an admission of hereditary claim: it would not have been given had he been a private peer unallied to the royal house. Had either of the Hamiltons, the father or the son, been a man of Murray's capacity, he would have taken the regency, if not something more; but the only member of the house capable of strong action was the archbishop, and late events had made his influence far less than it was when he sneered at his brother for letting an infant live between him and the throne.

It was observed that there was an assemblage of relations and retainers of the house at Hamilton Palace. Sir Robert Melville, who was sent to them as a sort of ambassador, was courteously received, and returned with the assurance that they had no intention to interfere with the dominant party. They made themselves conspicuous by their absence from the coming ceremony; but they took no ostensible action farther than to tender a protest that nothing done towards the reconstruction of a government should stand to the prejudice of their hereditary claims. For some weeks there had been in existence a band or bond for the release of the queen and the re-establishment of her government. The Hamiltons were understood to be the promoters of this project, and afterwards they became conspicuous as the leaders of "the queen's party." As we shall afterwards find, however, the Hamilton branch of this party lay under the accusation of secretly working for her death.

Mary's abdication or demission was signed, as we have seen, on the 24th of July. Next day a body of the party in power bound themselves to common action and support by "a band." On the 28th they assembled at Stirling, where the infant prince was guarded. Next day he was solemnly crowned as king. Whether as a ceremonial, or because there was real danger of a forcible interruption to the business of the day, the garrison of the castle was on the alert, and the artillery ready for use

The ceremony was enacted in the beautiful parish church perched on the castle rock and close to the outworks. Though the Reformation had utterly changed the sovereign's obligations in matters ecclesiastical, yet the infant was not to be invested with monarchical power without the proper obligation for its due performance. An oath was framed for the occasion. It was taken by the Earl of Morton, as sponsor for the infant, "inclining his body and laying his hand on the book of God." This oath is a remarkable document, and deserves to be set forth at length. It is as follows:—

"I, James, Prince and Stewart of Scotland, promise faithfully, in the presence of the Eternal, my God, that I, enduring the whole course of my life, shall serve the same Eternal, my God, to the uttermost of my power, according as He required in His most Holy Word, revealed and contained in the New and Old Testaments; and, according to the same Word, shall maintain the true religion of Jesus Christ, the preaching of His Holy Word, and due and right ministration of His sacraments, now received and practised within this realm, and shall abolish and gainstand all false religion contrary to the same, and shall rule the people committed to my charge according to the will and command of God revealed in His aforesaid Word, and according to the lovable laws and constitutions received in this realm, no ways repugnant to the said Word of the Eternal, my God, and shall procure to my uttermost, to the Kirk of God and whole Christian people, true and perfect peace in all times coming. The rights and rents, with all just privileges, of the crown of Scotland, I shall preserve and keep inviolate, neither shall I transfer nor alienate the same. I shall forbid and repress, in all estates and all degrees, reiff, oppression, and all kind of wrong. In all judgments I shall command and procure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures, without exception, as He be merciful to me and you—that is, the Lord and Father of all mercies; and out of all my lands and empire I shall be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the foresaid crimes. And these

things above written I faithfully affirm by my solemn oath."[1]

Thereafter the infant's head was placed inside the crown which Bruce had worn, and his right hand was made to touch the sword and sceptre, in so far that it could be recorded how the representatives of the Estates "deliverit in his hands the sword and sceptre, and put the crown, royal upon his head, with all due reverence, ceremonies, and circumstances requisite and accustomed, and gave their ayths for due and lawful homage and obedience to be made by them to him in all times coming, as becomes subjects to their native king and prince." It is said that there was some difficulty on the question of the anointing, as a superstitious ceremony, Jewish in its origin and Popish in its later practice. We have seen how this rite was conceded to Scotland by the Papal Court as a privilege, raising the rank of the kingdom among the Christian monarchies.[2] Such an origin did not commend the institution to the predominant Protestants. It was not prudent, however, on such an occasion, to omit any solemnity that might tend to give effectiveness to the coronation. The ceremony of anointing was performed by Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, the same who had married the queen to her last husband. John Knox, who among contemporary chroniclers is spoken of as objecting to the anointing, was a prominent party to the coronation. The assemblage was not properly a Parliament or meeting of the Estates. Yet there were present members of all the secular elements of the Parliament—the nobles, the barons, and the burgesses; and the names of the persons who represented these orders are recorded. The representation of the ecclesiastical order is curiously equivocal. The only purely spiritual title in the minute is that of the Bishop of Orkney. There are several "Commendators" of great religious houses; but these were only the persons who had got hold of their domains or revenues. At the conclusion of the record of the proceedings is announced, as an important party to them, one who is not named as among

[1] Anderson's Collection, ii. 247, 248. [2] Chap. xxv.

those present—John Knox. By an ancient practice of the Imperial notariat, the persons interested in the proceedings of collective bodies might require them to be officially certified or recorded by responsible recorders; and this right came to be called the asking of "acts," or of "instruments," or of "documents." We shall find this practice rife when we come to the days of the Covenant. So in the record of the coronation of the infant we find that "the said Sir John Bellenden, Justice-Clerk, in name of the said Estates, and also John Knox, minister, and Robert Campbell of Kinzean Cleuch, asked acts, instruments, and documents." There seems to have been thus far on the record an acknowledgment of the influence of the leader as representing the new Church, though he was not a member of the Estates, and had no legitimate place among the constituted powers. He preached a sermon on the occasion in the church of Stirling.

The ceremony having been completed, the honours of the realm, as the crown, the sceptre, and the other symbols of royalty were called, were each separately conveyed back to the castle by one of the great nobles in attendance. It fell to the lot of Mar to bear in his arms the infant king, as entire a mute emblem of the power of those who handled him as the inanimate symbols carried by the others.

Before dispersing, the assemblage uttered a proclamation, requiring it to be read at the market-cross of every burgh, in order that all men might know under whose authority they now lived. It bore as preamble how "it has pleased Almighty God to call the king's majesty, our sovereign lord, unto the royal crown and government of this realm by demission of the queen his mother;" and then states how "his highness is crowned, inaugurate, and established in this kingdom in the presence of the nobility and Estates convened for execution and accomplishment of the queen's will and commission foresaid."[1]

There still remained the momentous question, Would Murray accept of that regency offered to him in form by

[1] The Privy Council record of the proceedings will be found printed in Anderson's Collection, ii. 242 *et seq.*

his sister, and in reality by the predominant party in the Estates? It was ever his policy to keep at a distance when he saw the storm gathering. Some attribute this to timidity or caution, and even maintain that he kept away from the political explosion after laying and lighting the train. Others have it that, knowing how impossible it was to influence his countrymen to good and orderly ends when their blood was up, he kept away from scenes of tumult and bloodshed, which vexed his righteous soul, and taught him to despise his brethren of the Scots aristocracy as a band of ferocious barbarians.[1] However it was, he had now been four months absent, and was abiding in France until he was sent for. When informed of the offer made to him, he made no sign, but gravely and in a leisurely fashion turned his steps homewards. Whether on good ground or not, he was afraid of detention in France, if not of worse, and escaped secretly. He passed through England, whether as the safest route, or that he might gather on the way instruction for his guidance. He was well received at Court and elsewhere. Whatever he may have learned from others, however, it is clear that he kept his own counsel. Had he in any way committed himself, the fact must have come forth in the acrimonious disputes of the time. He passed through Berwick, and as he entered Scotland he was welcomed by a procession of four hundred mounted gentlemen. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 11th of August, and was there received with high applause. Still he kept silence until he had an interview with his sister.

On the 15th he appeared at Lochleven accompanied by Morton and Athole. Their reception was like many others in which Queen Mary figures—at one time storm and tears, at another all sunshine. She had long conversations with Murray alone. As to what passed at these meetings of

[1] On the 12th of August we find Throckmorton telling Cecil: "To speak more plainly to you than I will do otherwise, methinketh the Earl of Murray will run the course that those men do, and be partaker of their fortune. I hear no man speak more bitterly against the tragedy and the players therein than he, so little liking he hath to horrible sins."—Wright's Queen Elizabeth, i. 264.

brother and sister, amid conditions so strange and tragic, there has been much ardent curiosity but imperfectly satisfied, and a consequent world of conjecture. From her we have no revelation; but what Murray chose to say of the meeting was carefully treasured up by the English resident Throckmorton, and repeated to his mistress Elizabeth. This precise observer tells that on the 19th of August he desired to have a conversation with Murray and Lethington "quietly." Murray was unwell or indisposed for prompt conversation, but sent to say that he would call on Throckmorton next day. He had made up his mind for a revelation, and bluntly said, "My lord ambassador, whether will you that I should make declaration to you of my doings at Lochleven, or have you anything to say to me?" The other "required him to "declare his proceedings with the queen his sister, and how they had agreed." Murray's story can only be rendered in his own words as his companion reported them:—

"At the Earls of Murray, Athole, and Morton's arrival at Lochleven, they went immediately to the queen, who had conference with them all together; notwithstanding the queen broke forth with great passion and weeping, retiring the Earl of Murray apart, who had with her long talk in the hearing of no person. That talk, as I do learn (which continued two hours until supper-time), was nothing pleasant to the queen, and chiefly for that the Earl of Murray talked nothing so frankly with her as she desired, but used covert speech, and such as she judged he would not discover neither the good nor the ill he had conceived of her, nor meant unto her. After supper she desired to talk with the Earl of Murray again; and everybody being retired, they conferred together until one of the clock after midnight: in which second communication the said earl did plainly, without disguising, discover unto the queen all his opinion of her misgovernment, and laid before her all such disorders as either might touch her conscience, her honour, or surety.

"I do hear that he behaved himself rather like a ghostly father unto her than like a counsellor. Sometimes the queen wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowleded her un-

avisedness and misgovernment; some things she did confess plainly, some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate. In conclusion, the Earl of Murray left her that night in hope of nothing but of God's mercy, willing her to seek *that* as her chiefest refuge. And so they parted.

"The next morning betime she desired to speak with her brother; he repaired unto her. They began where they left overnight, and after those his reprehensions, he used some words of consolation unto her, tending to this end, that he would assure her of her life, and, as much as lay in him, the preservation of her honour. As for her liberty, it lay not in his power; neither was it good for her to seek it, nor presently for her to have it, for many respects.

"Whereupon she took him in her arms and kissed him, and showed herself very well satisfied, requiring him in any ways not to refuse the regency of the realm, but to accept it at her desire. 'For by this means,' said she, 'my son shall be preserved, my realm well governed, and I in safety, and in towardness to enjoy more safety and liberty that way than I can any other.' Whereupon the earl declared many reasons why he should refuse it. The queen again replied with earnest intercession, and prayed him to prefer her reasons and requests before his own, which were particular. At length he accorded unto her the acceptation of the regency.

"Then the queen required him to leave no means undone to bring all the forts of the realm into his own disposing, and likewise to take her jewels, and things of value which were hers, into his custody, offering unto the said earl her writings, the use of her name and authority, to bring all these things to pass. He showed himself very unwilling to have the custody of her jewels. Then the Earl of Murray requiring the Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, and Lochleven to treat the queen with gentleness, with liberty, and all other good usage, he took his leave of her; and then began a new fit of weeping, which being appeased, she embraced him very lovingly, kissed him, and sent her blessing unto the prince her son by him."

On being questioned and pressed, Murray made some further admissions. These are more significant by the doubts they leave than the revelations they convey. The Englishman was desirous to know if anything was said about the personal safety or danger of the captive, and if so, to know what tone Murray had taken. The result was that "he treated with her of that matter with this caution, that for his own part, according to his many obligations, he had a desire to spend his own life to save her life, and would employ all that was in him for that purpose; but it was not in his power *only*, the lords and others having interest in the matter." He then warned her of the classes of actions that might bring her into peril, such as practices to disturb the quiet of the realm and the reign of her son; projects to escape; exciting the people to be troublesome; courting foreign aid from England or France; and lastly, persisting in her "immoderate affection with the Earl of Bothwell." With a like precise analysis he showed the prudent course wherein her safety lay.

Many people, of course, will decline to take Murray's word for his own conduct on the occasion; but it is noticeable that Throckmorton seems to have felt content with the statement as sufficient. When the guests left Lochleven their captive had brought herself to her usual serene and genial deportment.[1]

On the 22d of August Murray was solemnly inaugurated

[1] Keith, ii. 736-738. If it be asked whether there is any account of this interview on Queen Mary's side which may be compared with Murray's, it may be answered that, literally speaking, there is an account on her side, but it is so brief as to afford no data for a comparison. It is simply said on her part that he went to ask her permission to accept of the regency, and when she pointed out that it was his duty to decline the offer, he said he had already committed himself: "S'appercevant que sa majesté tendoit à luy persuader de ne recevoir la régence, et q'elle avoit encore quelque fiance en luy, estimant qu'il se monstreroit envers elle tel q'il devoit pour avoir cest honneur d'estre estinié luy appartenir comme frère bastard, il meit bas le masque, réplicquant que desjà il avoit accepté la charge, et qu'il n'estoit plus temps de s'en excuser."—Memoir addressed in the name of Queen Mary to all Christian princes; Teulet (4to edition), ii. 246.

as regent in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, with a repetition of the various documents already before us, cumbering the march of events with heavy formalities. As recorded by the Council, all occurred in the presence of "the Lords of the Secret Council, nobility, spirituality, commissioners of burghs, and barons."[1]

Among the regent's earliest acts one showed that he would rule with a firm hand. This was the removal of the command of Edinburgh Castle from Balfour. In his eventful tenure of that post he had been faithless to his master, Bothwell, and had done something to help the new ascendancy; but Murray did not deem him a man to be safely trusted with power. There was a hold over him in the part he had been known to take in the murder of Darnley. He stipulated for certain conditions. Foremost among these was an amnesty from trouble about that affair. He was still strong enough, too, to hold the Priory of Pittenweem, and other goodly morsels of ecclesiastical property which had fallen to his share in the general scramble. One of his conditions not to be easily accounted for was followed by disasters to him who appeared to gain by it—he bargained that he was to be succeeded in his command by Kirkcaldy of Grange.

On the 15th of December a Parliament assembled under the regent's summons. Its chief work was to strengthen things already done. It ratified the various steps of the great revolution which had just passed over the land. It will be remembered that the group of Acts passed in 1560, for abolishing Popery and establishing a Protestant Church, had been passed at a Convention of the Estates not assembled by royal authority. It will be remembered, also, how dexterously Queen Mary evaded all attempts to get her to ratify or acknowledge these Acts, and how she left it an open question, whether, on the one hand, they did not require the royal assent, or were, on the other, mere waste paper, as being without it. Though it was a prevalent doctrine held by Buchanan and many others, that Acts of the Estates were valid without the royal assent,

[1] Anderson, ii. 252

and that the ceremony of touching with the sceptre was a mere act of courtesy, showing a harmony of action between the Crown and the Estates, yet an opportunity was taken for ratifying the Acts in this Parliament. Some other business was transacted in reference to the Church, to be noticed farther on in connection with ecclesiastical affairs. Before the Estates separated, Huntly, Argyle, and Herries protested for an amnesty for all political acts done by them since the 10th of June. The amnesty was granted, and made general to all who would agree to conform with the new organisation.

Let us now go back and note how the neighbouring powers chiefly concerned with Scotland looked on this revolution as it passed before them. We have seen that an ambassador from France, M. Villeroy, commissioned to the queen alone, was not permitted to see her. He returned home a few days after the refusal. Next came from France M. Lignerolles with a wider mission. He was apparently an easy courteous man, disturbed in equanimity by the violent self-willed men among whom he found himself, but anxious to see peace kept and dignities respected. His mission was one of sadness rather than of wrath. Things were done before his eyes utterly beyond the scheme of his philosophy as the servant of a despotic Court, but he could do nothing save persuade and soothe. If his Court had sometimes assumed towards Scotland a mixed tone of patronage and dictation, this arose from a natural yielding to the tenor of events, which seemed to be bringing the distant barbarous country under the banner of France to become a useful dependency. When the French found Scotland angry and suspicious, they ceased to trouble themselves in pressing any projects that were found disagreeable there The French suggestions seem to have been met with a courteous equanimity, an echo, perhaps, of the tone in which they were made. This matter was reported by Throckmorton to his mistress in a letter dated two days before Murray's inauguration as regent. What he tells about the answer given to the ambassador is told briefly, yet so distinctly that nothing of moment seems to be omitted. We thus find in it at once

all that was asked by the French ambassador, and the answer made to each request, thus :—

"That the said lords did again render their humble thanks to the king, and queen his mother, for this demonstration of their favour, which the said king and queen had showed by sending him hither, and to treat with them so amicably. And where they had, by his long discourse at his first audience, comprehended the sum of his whole negotiation into four points, they were now to answer to every of them as had been resolved among all the lords and others of the king's Council.

"To the *first*, which tended to the union of all the nobility of this realm, they thanked the king humbly for his care in that matter; but there was no such dissension amongst them, thanks be to God, that they needed any reunion.

"To the *second*, for the care the king had to their surety, which he willed them to provide for, and therein offered them his assistance, they did humbly thank the king also for his gracious disposition towards them; but, God be thanked, they took themselves to be in as great surety as any men were or could be within this realm.

"To the *third*, concerning the queen's liberty, and his access to her, they had made an assertion amongst themselves, that no prince's ambassador nor stranger should speak with her until the Earl of Bothwell were apprehended, which they hoped should not be long to, for they had given order for his apprehension; and that which served for answer to refuse him access unto the queen must also serve for answer concerning her enlargement.

"To the *fourth* and *last*, concerning his access to the Hamiltons, and conference with them, they could not allow nor permit any prince's ambassador or minister to repair unto them or to treat with them. Well contented they were that Mons. de Lynerol should send unto them any gentleman he had, or write unto them, or otherwise to confer with them at his pleasure, if the said Hamiltons would repair to this town; otherwise they could not accord any other mean of negotiation for any prince's

ambassador with any subject of this realm, lest thereby they should derogate from themselves the authority which was given them by the queen their sovereign, in name of the king her son, for the government of this realm, and so give occasion thereby, as well to strangers as to the subjects of the realm, to think that there were as well two sundry States as two sundry authorities."[1]

The English ambassador, who is presently to appear on the stage, had misgivings about French intervention being more acceptable than English. There had been some boastful outbreaks at the Court of France, the king himself, "on the word of a prince," avowing that he would fight his sister's battle, and punish Queen Elizabeth for connivance with the rebels. But Queen Mary had in Catherine of Medici a potent enemy at that Court—an enemy who had no scruples about the divinity of royalty, or any other divinity, when she saw the means of injuring the woman she hated.[2] The political conditions in France, too, made difficulties. It could only be a Popish army that could aid the queen against her Protestant armies; yet had the Government of France required to trim so far as to send a Huguenot as their ambassador to Scotland, that he might be in some measure acceptable to the party in power. In fact it was likely that if a Popish army crossed over to Scotland, a Huguenot army would follow, and fight in Scotland the great quarrel that was desolating France.[3]

From the general tenor of what he saw and heard, the English ambassador seems to have satisfied himself that, as matters stood, France would do nothing for Queen Mary; and his explanation is of all the more historic value that it was given to disabuse his mistress and her immediate advisers, who looked with alarm to the prospect of Mary being rescued and enthroned by a French

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[1] Keith, ii. 734, 735.

[2] See a letter by Sir Henry Norris to Queen Elizabeth; Wright, i. 260.

[3] Ibid., 264.

army, with the consequent restoration of Popery and French influence in Scotland. He wrote to his queen, that however she "had been persuaded of the French or of their doings," he found that Murray and his friends seemed much at their ease, counting Lignerolles's embassy to be "rather for the manner's sake" than from any serious intention to strike a blow for the captive queen. Then follows a very significant explanation, "which is the better confirmed to me by Lignerolles's own words, which he had of me the same day of his entry to this town, I taking occasion to talk to him by the way, who said his commission at this time tended to this end, to lay before the lords that the king his master was bound by three respects to do for this queen: The one because she was a queen, a princess, sovereign as he was; betwixt whom there was some similitude of affections more than could be betwixt common persons. The second was for that she was his brother's wife, and had honoured France, his realm, with her education. The third was for the many alliances betwixt the house of France and the house of Scotland, and for the ancient league and amity which had continued betwixt those realms these many years. He said, also, the king, in being mindful of the queen's release, did not forget the state of the nobility and the whole realm." Then follow regrets that there is division among them, and the hope that the ambassador may unite them, as if that were so easily accomplished, and that all will end well for their sovereign and for them. But then they are not the King of France's subjects, so that he cannot constrain them if they refuse to take counsel from him. He has nothing in his power but "persuasions and entreaties, and if that would not serve, the king could do no more but be sorry for the queen his sister's misfortune, seeing he had no means to command them nor restrain them."[1] Throckmorton concludes with a note of a small peculiarity in the French ambassador's announcements, which suggests that he connected it with the influence of Mary's enemy, Catherine of Medici: "Always when he spake of the

[1] Stevenson's Selections, 270.

king his master's name, he joined therewith the queen his mother's." [1]

Nearer home the revolutionists had to deal with a spirit of a different order. Queen Elizabeth, when she saw what the end was to be, was roused into one of those fits of fury which made those about her say it was easily to be seen whose daughter she was. All had gone utterly against her calculations. The sacredness of the sovereign was to her the most imperious of human creeds. She had counted on it as absolute when she coquetted with her sister's subjects; they might go so far, but there was no risk of their going farther. The leaders in Scotland had now committed the most awful crime that it lay within the compass of human wickedness to commit. Blasphemy against the Almighty was merely a rash use of words, doing nothing which penitence might not recall; but here was blasphemy put in practical and irretrievable shape against the representative of the Almighty upon earth.

The consummation was perhaps the more irritating that she might in some measure reproach herself for helping it on. She had not honestly done her best to keep her wayward sister in the straight path, rather she had felt some comforting or even exulting feelings in the errors into which that sister lapsed, conscious that she had the power of correcting all, and coming forth as the magnanimous patroness and rectifier. It was not her intention to nourish presumptuous aspirations in subjects, she was only making out a case for her own beneficent intervention; for in a question between a sovereign and her subjects, only a sovereign could judge; and she was precisely in the position to be judge of all questions arising in Scotland. She had, in fact, arranged all to her own satisfaction. Queen Mary had doubtless misbehaved; but the subjects who found her at fault should have gone to her—Queen Elizabeth—to seek redress, instead of lifting their voices and hands against the Lord's anointed. She was, perhaps, all the more provoked that the revolution was not the result of a fierce contest in which men

[1] Stevenson's Selections, 270.

might forget what they were about, and that it was not completed in ignorance of her instructions to her ambassador not to permit anything to be done in Scotland which subjects ought not to do to a prince. Throckmorton had arrived in Edinburgh before the middle of July. He carried instructions so clear, full, and complete, that had he been able to make any use of them, he would have established the government of Scotland precisely in the shape desired by his mistress and her advisers, meting out Queen Elizabeth's justice and mercy to all parties from her sister queen downwards. One little item in the interpretation of these instructions shows how absolutely exempt sovereigns were in the eye of Elizabeth from the obligations lying heaviest of all on subjects. Protestantism was to be the rule for all except the queen and her attendants: "That the cause of religion be established, excepting none but the queen's person and some competent number for her attendance." [1]

An exhortation sent along with the instructions gives us a clearer revelation of Queen Elizabeth's mind than the formal documents themselves. The conduct of her sister had vexed and angered her, and she had resolved to abstain in the mean time from offering the consolation and succour that would have been freely offered to a blameless and unfortunate sister sovereign. But now all is changed:—

"Behold suddenly the raising an intestine trouble, in manner of war, betwixt her and her nobility and subjects, wherein finding her to have a light into such hard terms, that she is restrained by her nobility and subjects, as we hear, from her liberty; our stomach so provoked, we have changed our former intention of silence and forbearing to deal in her causes, *first*, to an inward commiseration of her, our sister, for this last calamity; and *next*, to a determination to aid and relieve her by all possible means for the recovering of her to her liberty, and not to suffer her, being by God's ordinance the prince and sovereign, to be in subjection to them that by nature and law are

[1] Keith, ii. 675.

subjected to her. For which very purpose you shall say, We have sent you at this time to understand truly her estate, and the whole manner how the same has happened; and to confer with her what may be thought meet for us, as her sister and next neighbour, to do for her, be it by council, force, or otherwise; and therefore you shall require her to impart to you that which indeed she can require of us in honour to be done for her, to bring her to liberty, and her realm to concord and inward peace; and so doing you shall assure her we will do as much for her (the circumstances of her case considered) as she were our very natural sister or only daughter. And at the hearing of her declaration you shall require her to bear with you, if according to our direction you do declare also unto her wherewith her nobility and subjects charge her; and so you shall orderly make full declaration thereof, adding therewith that your meaning is not to increase her calamities, but to the end, upon the truth known, her subjects may be duly reprehended and corrected for things unduly laid to her charge: and in other things wherein her fault and oversight cannot be avoided, or well covered, the dealing therein and order thereof may be with wisdom and policy so used and tempered, as her honour may be stayed from utter ruin, and her State recovered with some better accord to follow betwixt her and her subjects. And after she shall have fully declared to you her answer, or request, or her other defences, if she shall require our aid by force to recover her liberty and be revenged, you shall say, That you have commission directly to charge and reprove her subjects with this their restraining of her their sovereign lady, and to procure her liberty; or otherwise to assure them plainly, That she shall not lack our aid to compel them thereto; whereunto if they shall not yield, you may tell her you will speedily advertise us, who, you doubt not, will perform our promise."[1]

Throckmorton entered on his duties with a heavy heart. As we have seen, he had fears about French interven-

[1] Keith, ii. 668, 669.

tion. He soon found, however, that there was little to be apprehended from any foreign quarter. The danger lay in the temper of the Scots themselves. The great lords and councillors spoke "reverently and mildly" of their queen. In fact the acts so offensive to Queen Elizabeth tended to the salvation of their poor mistress, for the populace "did mind vehemently the destruction of her." Instead of admitting the doctrine of divine right to do wrong, they put in the plainest possible shape the converse proposition; and Throckmorton had the disagreeable but necessary task of informing his mistress that "it is a public speech amongst all the people, and amongst all the Estates, saving the councillors, that their queen hath no more liberty or privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, either by God's law or the laws of the realm."[1] The ambassador had a clear eye for the difficulties before him. In his way through the northern counties of England we find him anticipating that, as the French ambassador was not allowed an interview with Mary, so neither would the English. He was, as we have seen, right in this anticipation; and this, with many other incidents of his correspondence, shows that he knew well what he had to deal with, and might have been a useful counsellor and friend to the Scots, had he not been fettered by imperious instructions. His letters show that he was nervously anxious for the solution of the question, whether he was right in expecting that he would be allowed no audience. When he found that he had anticipated only too sagaciously, he found also the seriousness of the calamity. He had come with credentials as ambassador to a queen, but there was no queen to hand them to. He had his instructions about exacting obedience from the rebels, but he was in a very unhappy position for using them. The intention was that he should go to them from their own queen, with the promises of the sister queen to back her in her demands against her truculent subjects; the reality was that he had to go to these men and lay before them a menace from a foreign power. He was not

[1] Wright, i. 258.

absolutely to disobey his instructions, and remain in Scotland without letting any one know what he had come to demand; but as his demands were not indorsed by the sovereign they were to serve, he could not give them the desirable emphasis and power. He felt his dilemma keenly, and the men he had to deal with saw it, and used it to their purposes.

He succeeded in getting a pretty full explanation of the views of some of the confederates; but it was made full just because it was not a State document announcing the policy of a government or even committing a party. It began by saying, "We cannot conveniently at this time give you a resolute answer to the first part of your message declared to us in the queen's majesty your sovereign's behalf, being here but a small part of that number for the present assembled to whom you are directed, the others being before your coming dispersed in several corners of the realm upon good occasions tending to the maintenance of the just quarrel, and for suppressing dangerous enterprises in the overthrow thereof." Though not entitled to speak for their coadjutors, yet seeing, as they say, that the Queen of England "finds strange our conduct towards the queen's majesty our sovereign, and her highness's imprisonment, whereupon you have made us a great and large remonstrance, putting us in mind of the duties of subjects towards their natural princes,—we will, for your better satisfaction herein, declare some parts of our intents and proceedings, which we will desire you to impart to the queen your mistress, not doubting but when her highness shall have understood the same she shall not so far disallow of our doings in that behalf."[1] This preamble is followed up by a note of the principal events from the death of the king downwards. The tenor of the narrative is towards supplying information to one not fully acquainted with all the events rendering it necessary for those who told the story to act. There is in it nothing apologetic, unless, perhaps, it may be in the rather remarkable terms used in the avowal following: "We pray

[1] Keith, ii. 678.

her highness to conceive of us that we take no pleasure to deal with our sovereign after this sort as we are presently enforced to do, being the person in the world whom, according to our bounden duty, we have in our hearts most revered and honoured, whose grandeur we have most earnestly wished, and with the hazard of our lives would have endeavoured ourselves to have procured it. We never went about in any ways to restrain her liberty, nor never entered in deliberation at the beginning of this cause of anything might touch her person. The grounds of our intents are too well known to the world, and better a great deal than we wish they were; forasmuch as they impart the ignominy of this whole nation, and touch in honour the queen herself, as us all."[1]

Having thus got an explanation, uttered with a sort of haughty frankness as between friends — an explanation which avowedly committed no party as rulers or political actors—the ambassador could get nothing more. He kept grumbling to one and another that he got no satisfactory answer to the demands of his mistress. But that mistress herself helped the Scots to a facility of evasion which nothing could overcome. He was not accredited to the actual power ruling in Scotland, as to a government. He could only speak to individual members of the ruling power. These treated him according to their humour. When he pressed them disagreeably they would assume the tone of men who had business to attend to and had no time for idle gossip. Occasionally he caught a sharp retort from Lethington's bitter tongue. Gradually and gently he endeavoured to explain the hopelessness of his mission to Elizabeth. It took about a fortnight, however, at that time to receive, even through a State messenger, an answer from London to a letter sent from Edinburgh. Thus it was among the perplexities of the ambassador, that the more hopeless he found his mission, the more imperious became the tone of his instructions from London. On one occasion two remarkable letters must have crossed each other. The one was his own, announcing

[1] Keith, ii. 679.

the abdication; the other was a paper of instructions, the draft of which exists, with marks of revisal by Cecil. The following passages are selected from it:[1]

"You shall plainly denounce unto them, that if they shall determine anything to the deprivation of the queen their sovereign lady of her royal estate, we are well assured of our own determination, and we have some most probable cause to think the like of other princes of Christendom, that we will make ourself a plain party against them, to the revenge of their sovereign, *for example to all posterity;* and therein we doubt not but God will assist us, and confound them and their devices, considering they have no warrant nor authority by the law of God or man to be as *superiors* and judges or vindicators over their prince and sovereign, howsoever they do charge or conceive matter of disorder against her. And therein we require them to appeal to their own conscience what warrant they have in Scripture, being subjects, to depose their prince; *but contrary, and that with express words in that epistle who to the Romans commanded them to obey potestatibus supereminentioribus gladium gestantibus, although it is well known the rulers in Rome were infidel.*

"You may assure them we do detest and abhor the murder committed upon our cousin their king, and mislike as much as any of them the marriage of the queen our sister with Bothwell. But herein we dissent from them, that we think it not lawful nor allowable for them, being by God's ordinance subjects, to call her, who also by God's ordinance is their sovereign prince, to answer to their accusations by way of force; for we do not think it conformed in nature that the head should be subject to the foot."

Again, when Throckmorton was afterwards angrily recalled:—

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[1] This letter may be found in Keith (ii. 702) and elsewhere. It is so distinct an exposition of the Tudor doctrines, that it has been thought proper to copy these passages from the original in the Record Office at the Rolls. Scots Correspondence, vol. xiv. No. 39, July 27, 1567; scroll instruction, Queen Elizabeth to Throckmorton, corrected by Cecil. The passages in italics are in Cecil's hand.

"In the old law we have the example of David, who not to die would ever hurt his anointed sovereign when he had him in his will and danger to do what he liked with him. In the new we have plain commandment to obey and love them, yea, though they be evil."[1]

It has been supposed that in all this Queen Elizabeth was merely playing a game, and that she secretly wished success to the confederates, and would readily give them private aid. I count this as trifling with a momentous historical truth. The things done in Scotland slurred the dignity of royalty. She felt that a dangerous precedent had been established, and no one could tell when it might be followed. And indeed, taking the matter from her own point of view, she showed her sagacity in desiring, for the sake of royalty in England, that such a line of action in Scotland should be suppressed, if it could be suppressed. There is no doubt that the precedent, and the views by which it was justified, had great influence in promoting the resistance to Charles I. and its tragic end. Had she not been more prudent than her father she would have sent a force across the border to carry her point.[2]

But although she thus avoided desperate conclusions, Queen Elizabeth chose to consider that she and other monarchs were absolute rulers by divine ordinance, and not liable to be questioned or thwarted by subjects. It will clear the way through many difficulties to remember that she never swerved from this creed, or permitted it to be questioned. Even in the extreme case of the marriage of Mary with Bothwell, she would not permit it to be spoken of in her presence that her sister's subjects could

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[1] Scots Correspondence, vol. xiv. No. 48.

[2] Mr Hosack, in his 'Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers' (350 *et seq.*), says justly of Queen Elizabeth's temper and conduct on this occasion: "Right or wrong, she would not stand tamely by and see her cousin murdered. She would remonstrate with these rebellious Scots, and if remonstrances proved ineffectual, she would send an army to chastise and reduce them to obedience." This concurrence is the more significant, as, according to traditional practice, a vindicator of Queen Mary has to make the perfidious cruelty of Elizabeth an antithesis to the generous candour of his heroine. See also the 14th chapter of Froude.

interfere to prevent the catastrophe. To this there is curious and strong testimony in a letter from Randolph, where he tells how Queen Elizabeth just dropped a hint of the ominous marriage, and continues :—

"These news it pleased her majesty to tell me this day, walking in her garden, with great misliking of that queen's doing, which now she doth so much detest that she is ashamed of her; notwithstanding her majesty doth not like that her subjects should by any force withstand that which they do see her bent unto.

"Her majesty also told me that she had seen a writing sent by Grange to my Lord of Bedford, despitefully written against that queen in such vile terms that she could not abide the hearing of it, wherein he made her worse than any common woman. She would not that any subject, what cause soever there be proceeding from the prince, or whatsoever her life or behaviour is, that any man should discover that unto the world; and therefore she utterly misliketh of Grange's manner of writing and doing, that she condemneth him for one of the worst in that realm, seeming somewhat to warn me of my familiarity with him, and willing that I should admonish him of her misliking."[1]

On the present occasion Throckmorton showed by his conduct his entire belief in the sincerity of his mistress. If it were necessary to seek anything beyond the general aspect of the affair in proof of this sincerity, it might be found in the ultimate reason which he reported to her for abandoning the attempt to influence the Scots, and in the success of that ultimate reason. He said he found that the Queen of England's interference endangered the life of the Queen of Scots. Having ventured to reveal to Lethington some of the views in Elizabeth's letter of the 27th, and to sift him on the effect these might have upon his colleagues, the answer, as reported by Throckmorton, was: "My lord ambassador, I have heard what you have said unto me. I assure you, if you should use this speech unto them which you do unto me, all the world could not

[1] Randolph in Maitland's Narrative.

save the queen's life three days to an end, and as the case now standeth it will be much ado to save her life."

For some time the ambassador had been enlarging on the risk she ran of being put to death; but here, without committing himself to so unwelcome an opinion, he let his mistress see that she was working for that consummation, and that the confederates were desirous to avoid it. He was seconded by Cecil, whose ingenuity gave point to the advice, by a hint that Elizabeth, if she persisted, would be suspected of doing so for the purpose of securing the death of the Queen of Scots, and being able to plead, "Thou canst not say I did it."[1]

The ambassador's correspondence reports, with picturesque distinctness, a conversation which he held with two of the confederates. While it showed to him that intervention from England would increase Mary's danger, it revealed ambitious interests as well as angry passions looking in the direction of her death. Ostensibly the Hamiltons were her chivalrous friends; but whether it was a calumny or not, Throckmorton reported to his mistress that they eagerly desired her death. His conversation was at first with Murray, the Laird of Tullibardine, a brother of the Countess of Mar who had charge of the infant king. The laird told him such things, that the experienced statesman, well versed in duplicity, said he could not think how people could have "such double faces and treacherous minds as the Hamiltons." Apart from the question of criminality, the ambassador suggested that, as a matter of self-interest, their view was a mistake:—

"I said also they might make a better profit of the queen's life than they could of her death, she being divorced from Bothwell, or the marriage dissolved by Bothwell's death, which was like to ensue if justice proceeded. That then either some of the Duke's of Chatelherault's sons (as he had divers marriable), and likewise the Duke of Argyll having a brother to be married also, might make a better bargain by marrying of the queen, than to

[1] Letter, Cecil to Throckmorton, cited by Hosack, 358.

seek her destruction." On this suggestion Tullibardine said:—

"My lord ambassador, these matters which you speak of have been in question amongst them; but now they see not so good an outgate by any of those devices as by the queen's death; for she being taken away, they accompt but the little king betwixt them and power, which may die. They love not the queen, and they know she hath no great fancy to any of them. And by thus much they fear her the more because she is yet young, and may have many children, which is the thing they would be rid of." The ambassador indeed said that John Hamilton, the archbishop, had proposed a distinct practical arrangement for putting the queen to death. So far as the character of these Hamiltons is at stake, it must be remembered that these charges passed through two exaggerating mediums. They were made to frighten the ambassador, and he desired to communicate his fears to his mistress. Continuing the account of his interview, he tells how he ventured on certain deprecatory arguments—"some gathered of the law of God, some of the law of man, some of the honour of their whole country, some for particular honour for himself and his friends;" and lastly, on the impolicy of opening the succession to the Hamiltons. He thought he had made some impression on Tullibardine, when one not so easily persuaded—Lethington himself—joined them. It was then that the ambassador endeavoured to make the two understand, as he tells his mistress, "what your majesty did think of their rash proceedings, finding the matter in this hasty sort, to proceed with a queen, their sovereign being a queen anointed,—not having imparted their intents to your majesty." He then in his perplexity says, "Also I did declare unto him some part of the substance of your majesty's instructions given me in your said letter of 27th of July." This glimpse at the purport of the "said letter" called from Lethington an emphatic declaration about Mary's danger. He uttered it in offering what he called "the best advice to prevent extremity;" and the words of his counsel were: "Either the queen your sovereign will not be advised, or you do

forbear to advise her. I say unto you, as I am a Christian man, if we who have dealt in this action would consent to take the life from her, all the lords which hold out and lie aloof from us would come and conjoin with us within these two days."[1]

Throckmorton, in his perplexity, sought help from the potent Leicester. Slight revelations show that when he thought fit to interpose in the affairs of Scotland, it was with so high a hand as to put Cecil and others in the position of mere subordinates ministering to a prince.[2] Throckmorton, in appealing to him, referred to a letter of "discursive and favourable advice" which Leicester had sent to him along with his official instructions as ambassador. In his appeal he takes strong ground; he regrets bitterly the tone of the instructions sent to him, and takes credit for achieving great things by his own prudence. "Whether," he says, "it were fear, fury, or zeal, which carried these men to the ends they be come to, I know not; but I dare boldly affirm to your lordship, albeit I could neither procure access to this queen, nor procure her liberty, with restitution of her to her estate, yet I have at this time preserved her life—to what continuance I am uncertain. Sure I am there is nothing shall so soon hasten her death as the doubt that these lords may conceive of her redemption to liberty and authority by the queen's majesty's aid, or by any other foreign succour."[3]

The ambassador was told that there is to be a muster of the leaders of the confederates at Corstorphine, a village three miles from Edinburgh, to discuss the weighty matters on hand; and on this he drops the remark, "I make no other reckoning but that they will agree. I pray God their accord be not such as was between Herod and Pilate to put Christ to death."[4] A few days earlier he

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[1] Scots MSS., No. 50.

[2] When Throckmorton's recall was made out, it was intimated to Cecil, that "because it was very late before her highness signed the same, and that my Lord of Leicester said he was also to write by this despatch, I was driven to forbear the sending away of the packet until this morning."—Stevenson's Selections, 266.

[3] Stevenson's Selections, 261.

[4] Scots MSS., No. 50.

had cited examples more ominous, because nearer home: "It is to be feared that this tragedy will end in the queen's person after this coronation, as it did in the person of David the Italian and the queen's husband."[1]

Like other ambassadors lying under suspicion of bearing imperious messages from England, Throckmorton became alarmed for his own safety. His fears were not of any harsh dealing from the statesmen with whom he was in controversy; but when they retired to their estates, and left him unprotected in Edinburgh, he was in much perplexity. He saw danger in remaining there, and still more danger in an attempt to find refuge in Berwick, a project which crossed his thoughts.[2]

Perhaps, had all that his mistress ordered him to work out become known, his danger had been far more serious. Queen Elizabeth desired to have the young prince or king in her charge, and seemed to think this a natural request which would be easily conceded. That Throckmorton was authorised to make it we only know from his instructions. The affair does not appear on the face of the diplomatic transactions in Scotland. Such a proposal would recall to every one practically acquainted with Scots politics the bitter history of those times in which Henry VIII. strove for the possession of "the child."[3]

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[1] Stevenson's Selections, 255.

[2] He writes to Cecil on the 26th of July: "If I could go safely, as I much doubt of it, I would retire myself to Berwick until I hear from you, this town being left destitute of all noblemen and gentlemen, save Sir James Balfour, captain of the castle, and the Laird of Craigmillar, provost of the town. There is also left here 200 harquebusiers for the guard of this town."—Stevenson's Selections, 255.

[3] "As ye shall deal with the lords having charge of the young prince for the committing of him into our realm; so shall ye also do well, in treaty with the queen, to offer her, that where her realm appeareth to be subject to sundry troubles from time to time, and thereby, as it is manifest, her son cannot be free from peril, if she shall be contented her son may enjoy surety and quietness within this our realm, being so near, as she knoweth it is, we shall not fail, but yield her as good safety therein for her child as can be devised for any that might be our child born of our own body, and shall be glad to show to her therein the true effect of natural friendship. And herein she may be by you remembered how much good may come to her son to

On the 9th of August the ambassador made a brief but strong appeal to Cecil for his recall. He repeated in these terms some final words of advice given him by Lethington overnight: "'It is to no purpose for you to tarry here. You may make matters worse than they be, for we may not satisfy the queen your mistress's affections unless we should cast our king, our country, and ourselves away; and she will do nothing that can be plausible to us. To us the least harm—nay,' said he, 'we will take it as a piece of good—will be for her majesty to let us alone, and neither do us good nor harm; and, peradventure, this will bring far the better mean than any other course; for men begin to hold all things suspected that come from you, and if you be over-busy with us, you will drive us faster to France than we desire to run.'" Throckmorton's comment on the conversation is: "I do perceive by the Lord of Lethington, they could be as well contented that I were hence, as I desire it. And surely they see thoroughly into your doings, and do understand such things and speeches as I could have wished had never come to their knowledge." This is an allusion to a Parthian dart sent by Lethington as he went. How it wounded we can but guess, but we can see it to have been sharp from its very brevity. "'And, my lord ambassador,' said he, 'we know all the good purposes which have passed betwixt you, the Hamiltons, the Earls of Argyle and Huntly, since your coming into this country.'" The ambassador's conclusion on all this is: "To tell you my own opinion, I see no great purpose of my tarrying here any longer; for whatsoever you intend to treat with these men hereafter, it were good there were some pause used, to suffer them to chew upon their own bridles."[1]

Before his last appeal reached London it was determined that Throckmorton should be relieved of his mis

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be nourished and acquainted with our country. And therefore, all things considered, this occasion for her child were rather to be sought by her, and the friends of him, than offered by us."—Letter, Queen Elizabeth to Throckmorton, 14th July 1567; Stevenson's Selections, 202.

[1] Stevenson's Selections, 267

sion. It was not necessary, however, that he should return immediately, and a prospect dawned upon him which induced him to remain. Murray was coming, and this event promised safety and moderate counsels. Throckmorton went three miles out of Edinburgh to meet him, deeming such an act "convenient" to her majesty's service. He noted how the new-comer was greeted with vehement popular applause. He says, "I had conference with him in such sort as might best advance your majesty's purpose at his hand. And as I found my said lord very honourable, sincere, and direct, so I found him not resolved what he will do, nor what he will consent unto; abhorring on the one side the murder of the king and the circumstances conjoined therewith, which he can like in nowise should pass with impunity; so on the other side do I find in him great commiseration towards the queen his sister, and yet not fully determined whether he will accept the regency or refuse it; but rather in my opinion he will take it upon him than leave it, being thereto pressed by all these lords and gentlemen which have dealt in this action, all which, in very deed, be the men he doth value and esteem most within this realm."[1]

There is now a change in the tone of the ambassador's letters. It is not that he is any nearer to the direct fulfilment of his instructions. He finds in the end that it is "lost money, lost labour, and lost time that is spent here."[2] But he is no longer standing on the crust of a volcano. He has to deal with a Government pursuing a firm and fixed policy. Yet though his letters no longer bear a tone of fear or anxiety, their purport cannot have been much to the liking of his mistress. Almost immediately he had to announce a proposal for sending an ambassador to England to represent the new Government as an independent sovereignty: "Upon long conference had with the Earl of Murray, and likewise with the Laird of Lethington, and then with them both jointly, I do perceive they be disposed to send some wise man and a credit to your majesty in legation, in case they thought

[1] Stevenson's Selections, 269.

[2] Ibid., 283.

your majesty would receive him graciously, and make no difficulty to use him favourably as the king's ambassador: otherwise, if your majesty cannot be pleased to accept an ambassador in the king's name, they mean not to deal any further with your majesty."

Whatever impression Murray may have left as he passed through England, it did not extinguish the hope that Mary's liberation might be accomplished, and the ambassador was directed to press the point on the new Government. He lost no time, for on the 22d of August, when, as we have seen, the regent was inaugurated and proclaimed, the ambassador reported a conference held with Murray and Lethington on the previous day. They professed in common that "they never meant harm—God they took to witness—neither to the queen's person nor to her honour;" but she was as a person afflicted with "an extreme disease," calling for strong and skilful treatment. It fell to Lethington, who had been at the helm, to discourse more at length. He managed pretty successfully to involve the main question in complex conditions: "This matter doth carry with it many parts, some concerning the queen's person, some the king her son, some the realm, and some the lords' and gentlemen's sureties; and when they shall see a moderation of the queen their sovereign's passion, they mean nothing but well unto her, and she shall have nothing but good at their hands. There is no way to do her so much harm as to precipitate matters before they are ripe, or to put these lords to a strait; for so against their wills they shall be constrained to do that they would not do." They had all endured with patience much hard language from Queen Elizabeth and others, who called them "rebels, traitors, seditious, ingrate, and cruel." And should this treatment be carried farther, they may have to deal otherwise with their queen than they intend or desire. "'For, my lord ambassador,' said he, 'you may be assured we will not lose our lives, have our lands forfeited, and be reputed rebels through the world, seeing we have the means to justify ourselves.'" If England is to make war on them,

then war be it, rather than that the captive should be liberated "in this mind that she is in, being resolved to retain Bothwell and to fortify him, to hazard the life of her son, to put the realm in peril, and to forfeit all these noblemen." As to war with England, they are accustomed to it: "You will burn our borders, and we will do the like to yours; and whenever you invade us, we are sure France will aid us, for their league standeth, and they are bound by the league to defend us." Then some farther hints were discharged about his practices with the Hamiltons and others, which seem to have gone home, for he made no defence. They were thrown, however, more in sarcasm than anger. He was told he was wasting his money; for either those who take it—alluding especially to the Hamiltons—"will laugh you to scorn when you have done, and agree with us—for we have in our hands to make the accord when we will,—or else you will make them attempt some such act as they and their house shall repent it for ever."

He continued with a touch of the same sarcastic scorn, tossing the imperious conduct of Queen Elizabeth in her ambassador's face, as an insult that, on the whole, his party were too strong to trouble themselves about very deeply, and passing a jest on the Queen of England forgetting to change her tone when she addressed those who were not her own subjects. And the while that she was calling on them to do what she wished, she was doing nothing whatever to further their serious objects: "Will the queen your mistress arm two or three ships to apprehend Bothwell? pay a thousand soldiers to reduce all the forts of this realm to the king's obedience? Then we will say, doing this, that her majesty mindeth as well these other matters spoken of as the queen's liberty."

Then comes a sudden change in the diplomatic drama, which the ambassador announces in saying, just after he has recorded this thrust from Lethington, "I directed then my speech to my Lord of Murray. Sir, you have no such interest in this matter as these men have, for you have committed no such excess; and therefore I trust

this answer given me by the Laird of Lethington—though it may be the mind of the other lords his associates—yet I trust it be not agreeable to yours.'"

The ambassador had determined to seize his opportunity, and to force a way to the intentions that had remained inscrutable. The time had come when Murray had to commit himself to a policy; for virtually he was chief ruler in Scotland, and the ceremonies of next day would make his signature the sanction for the enforcement of the royal prerogative. He spoke, and his words were, as the grave announcement of distinct conclusions likely to be effected, the weightiest that had for generations been uttered in Scotland. As the ambassador reports to his mistress, "The earl said, 'Sir Nicholas, truly methinketh you have heard reason at the Laird of Lethington's hand; and for mine own part, though I were not here at the doings past, yet surely I must allow of them, and do mean, God willing, to take such part as they do. And seeing the queen and they have laid upon me the charge of the regentry—a burden which I would gladly have eschewed—I do mean to ware my life in defence of their action, and will either reduce all men to obedience in the king's name, or it shall cost me my life. And if the queen your sovereign do look into the world, she will find more profit for her and her realm to fortify and assist us than to be against us; for though we may have cover by her means, yet if the matter be well considered, those which her majesty doth fortify against us will bring little commodity to her or England.'"

The ambassador then tells the result of those negotiations with the Hamiltons which were the object of Lethington's sarcastic and ominous allusions. This part of his report is, in its shifty dubiety, a signal contrast to the decided utterances which precede it. The names he mentions are the Lord Fleming, who was of consequence as retaining the command of Dumbarton Castle; the Lord Herries; the head of the house of Hamilton, who was still in France; and two John Hamiltons, the one being the Archbishop of St Andrews, the other, as it would seem, a secular priest, who became dangerously notorious for

his fierce enthusiasm in the cause of the French Catholic league, and his share in the murder of Barnabé Brissot, the great French lawyer and magistrate. Though there were thus active men in the party, Queen Elizabeth got but a poor prospect of anything effectual being done by them. The ambassador says:—

"I do guess by the contents of their letter that both they be not very hasty in this matter, but would gladly make your majesty to serve their turn; and also that there be not many to adhere unto them, seeing their letter is subscribed with so few hands, and those of no great moment. Many of those noblemen and gentlemen whereof the Hamiltons made account to run their fortune do write daily to the Earl of Murray, and do offer unto him obedience and fidelity, so as I think the Hamiltons' faction will be far too weak." Then comparing them with the confederates, he concludes: "Indeed their party is nothing so well made as these lords'; for besides their forces which lie united, they have the town and castle of Edinburgh, the town and castle of Stirling, the town of Leith, and the passages from all parts of the realm, at their devotion."[1]

To the despatch containing these passages and others, received by her in the month of August, Queen Elizabeth sent an acknowledgment, with instructions so cold and hesitating as to show a thorough misgiving about the wisdom of her angry demands. She hopes the "peremptory proceedings" reported to her are in time to "wax colder and to receive some reformation." Her encouragement to the Hamiltons is of the faintest kind, with a tinge of suspicion in it: "Our meaning is, you shall let the Hamiltons plainly understand that we do well allow of their proceedings so far forth as the same doth concern the Queen of Scotland for her relief; and in such things as shall appear reasonable for us to do herein for the queen our sister, we will be ready to perform the same."[2]

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[1] Keith, ii. 741-745. The letter "subscribed with so few hands" is mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

[2] Keith, ii. 747, 748.

About the middle of August the ambassador received —to his "comfort," as he with evident sincerity says—a definitive direction to return. Before he went, however, he made a last effort to obtain an interview with Mary, and to press for her release. On the former point he was flatly told that there was more reason than ever to preclude his access to the queen, since Lignerolles, who had been sent expressly to commune with her, was refused that privilege. For the queen's release "the lords could not resolve thereupon, because her liberty and the time thereof depended upon accidents." The ambassador referred to one of the most probable and most important of these accidents. Supposing Bothwell caught and "justified"—that is, condemned and executed—what then? But Murray would not commit himself to prospective action, and answered, "They could not merchandise for the bear's skin before they had him." The ambassador still persisted—they must "foresee by imagination what should be meet for them to do;" and he so far succeeded as to get an answer, reported by him to his friend Cecil in the following shape:—

"The Earl of Murray answered, 'As far as I can perceive, the queen's liberty then will depend chiefly upon her own behaviour and considerate doings; for if the lords may perceive that she doth digest well the justifying of Bothwell, the punishment of his adherents, and doth not discover a wrathful and revengeful mind towards these proceedings,—and likewise if the queen your sovereign will so deal as we may have cause to think that she seeketh the quietness of this realm, and not the trouble of it, as by countenancing and nourishing certain factions,—then these lords will seek to do all grateful things to the queen our sovereign, and to the queen's majesty of England. Marry, to fish so far before the net, and to tell now what shall be done then, neither do I nor they think convenient to give any determinate answer.'"[1]

Having given the ambassador his final answer with a distinctness that left no room for farther negotiation, the

[1] Keith, ii. 759; Stevenson's Selections, 297.

confederates were desirous to propitiate him so far as they could in consistence with the position they had taken. On the day fixed for his departure he was desired, "after the sermon," to walk with Murray to his house. There he found assembled "all the lords," as he says. Lethington, apparently with his usual fluent and graceful eloquence, took occasion to recall the many services done to them by the Queen of England, how especially she had served them in their utmost struggles at the siege of Leith, when their danger from foreign enemies was extreme. He spoke of the accord of religion between the countries as a natural bond of union, and declared that "no men would be more sorry than they to have the queen's majesty conceive otherwise than favourably of them." Murray followed in the same strain, with a stronger reference to personal obligations and ties, "concluding there was no prince next those which he ought his chiefest duty unto, that the alienation of their favour might trouble him so much as the queen's majesty's." Lastly, Morton was pathetic on the kindness shown to him in the time of his "trouble," after the disagreeable affair of Signor Davie.

Some of the assemblage took the ambassador to a recess, where there was a present for him of "gilt plate." He speaks respectfully of its value; but there was more connected with it than money's worth. They offered it to him as a present "from the king their sovereign lord." He says, "I declared that I could not accept any present from any person within that realm but from the queen their sovereign, of whom I would not make any difficulty to receive a present if she were in case to bestow any; but as from the king—whom I took to be prince—I could receive none, seeing he had attained to that name by injuring the queen his mother." They pressed him hard, but he remained firm in his purpose, and so departed homewards.[1]

Queen Elizabeth had an opportunity of explaining her policy and conduct on this occasion. She had requested the co-operation of the King of France, the Cardinal of Lorraine, "and others, the uncles and friends of our sister

[1] Keith, ii. 760, 761.

the Queen of Scots, touching some honourable means to be devised for her relief and liberty." On this invitation M. Pasquier was sent as ambassador to England. Queen Elizabeth had personal conferences with him. Of these she gave an account to her own ambassador in France, and as this account does not seem to vary much from the truth, it is valuable and interesting. She says :—

"We told him that as we had been always inclined to favour equity and justice as much as in us hath lain, so hearing of the pitiful and hard case that the Queen of Scots our good sister was in, we could not, for the commiseration we had of her woeful estate, but procure to ease her thereof to the uttermost we could, and thereupon sent our ambassador into Scotland, who by our order dealt first in all mild and gentle sort with the lords there for the relief of the said queen ; and perceiving that that manner of dealing, although it had been at sundry times and in diverse degrees attempted, could nothing prevail, we letted not to cause sharp and threatening words to be also used ; which profiting as little as the rest, we thought best, seeing the small fruit that had followed upon our good meaning, to revoke our ambassador, and thereupon sent our advice and opinion unto our said good brother by you our ambassador, since which time the state of matters seem to be very much altered in Scotland ; for whereas at that time it was thought that the Hamiltons, and certain others of their faction, would have made a good party in that realm, if they might have been therein assisted by the French king or us, towards the said queen's restoring to her liberty, now it is certainly advised from thence that they are all come in, and have joined themselves with the rest of the lords ; so as there is now no means left within that realm to make any party to join with any force that should be sent to make any exploit there. Besides, we were (we said) born in hand, that if the matter should be dealt withal by way of force and hostility, the queen our sister's life were like thereby to stand in great hazard ; and therefore, seeing gentleness had not hitherto prevailed, and that extremity and force might bring danger to her person,

whom both the king and we mean to preserve to the best of our power, we said, the matter hanging thus in balance, would be well thought upon and ripely considered before anything were taken in hand."[1]

Thus Queen Elizabeth stopped in time. It was not the only critical occasion on which she did so, to the great profit both of herself and others She thus, indeed, preserved her self-satisfying principle of divine right by never permitting it to encounter the rude test of practice. It was chiefly in this faculty that she showed her superiority to her father as the chief ruler of England. Holding the same despotic notions, and stirred often by like passions, she yet possessed that high gift of policy, the faculty of retreating from a false position while it is yet time—while yet it can be done without the loss of honour and dignity. The history of fifty years earlier shows us, that had her father so threatened Scotland, he would have pushed his threat "to the bitter end," be that where it might. There would have been the same relentless castigation and the same dogged endurance. Whether Mary's life would have been sacrificed or not, the people of the country would have presented their old steady front against English aggression or dictation. It is anomalous enough, no doubt, to suppose the Protestant Scots bringing in the French Papists to aid them against their Protestant friends of England; but the strong current of nationality would have drifted to such a conclusion, and France and Scotland would have actually resumed the ancient league against England, still nominally existing. Queen Elizabeth must have felt conscious of all this, and the imminent danger to herself that might follow, and so she acted as we have seen.[2]

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[1] Keith, ii. 771, 772.

[2] The two leading features in Queen Elizabeth's dealing with this affair—1st, her wrath at the Scots for their conduct to their queen; 2d, the influence of her advisers in persuading her that interference would only endanger the captive's life—are briefly and clearly set down by Cecil, writing to Norris, the English ambassador to France, and telling the passing news, when he had no object to serve in tell-

ing it falsely: "The Hamiltons hold out; the Earl of Murray is now regent; the queen's majesty our sovereign remaineth still offended with the lords for the queen—the example moveth her." And again: "Surely if either the French king or the queen should appear to make any force against them of Scotland for the queen's cause, we find it credibly that it were the next way to make an end of her; and for that cause her majesty is loath to take that way, for avoiding of slanders that might grow thereby."—Cabala, 141.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH.

CONFIRMATION OF THE REFORMATION STATUTES—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—POWERS OF DISCIPLINE—ATTEMPTS TO RECOVER THE TEMPORALITIES—HOW THEY SUCCEEDED—FORMATION OF JUDICATORIES—MODELLED ON THE HUGUENOT ARRANGEMENTS—THE CLERGY—USE OF THE ENGLISH LITURGY—HISTORY OF THE "BOOK OF COMMON ORDER," OR SCOTS PRAYER-BOOK—ADAPTED FROM THE GENEVA LITURGY USED BY KNOX IN FRANKFURT—SCENES OCCURRING THERE IN CONNECTION WITH ITS USE—EXAMINATION OF THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER IN ITS RELATION TO OTHER LITURGIES—ITS USE CONFIRMED—TRANSLATED INTO GAELIC—FORMS OF BURIAL AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENT—THE VOCAL PRAISE—THE SPIRITUAL AND GODLY SONGS—THE PSALTER—CONDITION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL EDIFICES.

THE events of the year 1567 make a turning-point in the history of the Church as well as of the State. As we read the statute-book, Popery was overthrown and the Reformation established in 1560. We have seen, however, that it was deemed prudent to confirm the legislative work of that year in the year 1567. During the interval, the new Church held not so much by the legitimate position of an established national institution as by the strength of its supporters. Care was taken to leave it so unprotected by the head of the State, that any day, through a counterbalance of power, the Reformation might have been abjured as rapidly as it had been adopted. It scarcely needed an Act of the Estates to accomplish this. If the Romish party had been powerful enough, they and the queen would probably not have paid so much respect to

these Acts, which had never obtained the royal assent, as to repeal them by a counter-Act of the Estates. Thus it was in this crisis of 1567, when Mary's reign suddenly ceased, and Murray governed in the name of her infant son, that the Reformation really was established in Scotland.

Within the Church we may trace the effects of the change. During the seven years of dubiety the political attitude of the Protestant Church is strong and determined; but there are few traces of the exercise of authority over the citizens. The new ecclesiastical rules are rigidly enforced against ecclesiastical persons, for the purpose of keeping the Church itself pure in morals, and correct in doctrine and form. There are, at the same time, powerful protestations against crimes in high places, such as the murder of Darnley, and the other flagrant acts of the period. It is not until the Church found itself achieving a firm position that we see it organising a machinery for the correction of the morals of the people. Among the earliest existing indications of the new Church looking out of its own sphere for matter of reproach and correction is one in 1563, when four women are delated for witchcraft by the Superintendent of Fife. The matter finds its way to an Assembly, who modestly dispose of it by a resolution that the Privy Council be requested to take order concerning it.[1]

On 28th June 1567 there is an entry significant of the beginning of interference with the liberty of free action. John Spottiswood had been excommunicated for his misdeeds. It is told that, in contempt of the Church's thus excluding him from communion with the faithful, Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar harbours the excommunicated man in his dwelling-house. The Assembly orders that Sir William send him forth.[2]

We find the corrective authority gradually increasing.

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 44.

[2] Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 98. The Assemblies held from time to time were the germ of the "General Assembly;" but it is perhaps scarcely correct to use at this stage a name applicable to a permanent institution.

After two years' growth, on the 6th of July 1569, a group of offenders—there are no means of knowing how many—appeared before the Assembly. They were all under excommunication for sins of the flesh, and they attended, as the record tells us, "to know what the Assembly would enjoin them."

"The Assembly ordained every one of them to repair to their superintendents, or to the ministers, elders, and deacons of their own church *respectivé*, and to receive injunctions from them how they shall behave themselves till the next Assembly; and that then they bring a testimonial from their ministers of their behaviour to the Assembly, and that they present themselves to the next Assembly bareheaded and barefooted in linen clothes, humbly requesting the Assembly for farther injunctions for their offences, and restitution to the bosom of the Kirk."[1]

There was a movement—certainly a natural one—towards the establishment of an ecclesiastical censorship over the press. Bassendyne the printer was charged with the publication of a profane ballad in an edition of the Psalms. But he had committed a far more serious offence, in that a book published by him, called 'The Fall of the Roman Kirk,' spoke of "our king and sovereign as supreme head of the primitive Church." It was ordered by the Assembly that he "is not to print without licence of the supreme magistrate, and revising of such things as pertain to religion by some of the Kirk appointed to that purpose."[2]

In 1574 a committee was appointed "to oversee all manner of books or works that shall be proposed to be printed, and to give their judgment thereupon if the same be allowed and approved by the law of God or not; their judgment or opinion thereof, by their superscription and handwrit, to witness and testify for relief of such as shall read the said works." To revise the sacred poems in Latin, just issued by Patrick Anderson, a committee was appointed remarkable for the eminence of its members.

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 144. [2] Ibid., 126.

"The Right Honourable Mr George Buchanan, Keeper of the Privy Seal; Mr Peter Young, pedagogue to our sovereign lord; Mr Andrew Melville; Mr James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh."[1] Where censorship has existed, literature has often taken vengeance on the censors by sarcasms on their ignorance and their incapacity to understand what they are castigating; but here it was probably the author's grief that he was put into the hands of masters only too capable of detecting any deficiency in his attainments.

The authority arrogated by the Churchmen was not limited to the class who wrote books, but extended to the most powerful among the territorial lords.

The Earl and Countess of Argyle came under censure —he in separating in an unbecoming fashion from his wife, she in having attended the Popish ceremony of the christening of the prince. The earl professed his willingness to submit to discipline if he were in fault, but pleaded that he was not to blame. The Superintendent of Argyle was directed to make inquiry in the matter, and cause such satisfaction to be made as God's law appoints. "The countess admitted her guiltiness, and she was ordained to make public repentance in the Chapel Royal of Stirling upon ane Sunday in time of preaching."[2]

But however the Church as a body might feel that its influence was strengthening and widening, there was one point on which the Churchmen personally were doomed to feel that all effort was hopeless—the redevotion to spiritual purposes of the revenues of the old Church. The appropriators of these funds were naturally the friends of Protestantism, because that cause had put them in the way of gaining what they had gained, and the triumph of Popery might be the loss of all. They might be, therefore, counted on for any amount of aggregate zeal in the cause; but when there was a personal pressure to deliver over to the true Church what they had taken from the idolaters, they were firm as fate.

The policy pursued by the clergy in this contest is

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 310. [2] Ibid., i. 310.

supposed to have exercised a decided influence on the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. It inherited from the Huguenot consistories and synods the practice of admitting lay elders as component members of the ecclesiastical assemblies. But the decided hold which the lay interest has ever held in Scotland may in great measure be attributed to this, that in the infancy of the Church it was deemed wise that those who showed their zeal for the Reformation by despoiling the Popish hierarchy should be dealt with as zealous members of the new Church.

It is often said that the institution so arising—laymen elected by laymen to sit in ecclesiastical courts—testifies to the broad popular principle of a Church relying on the voice of the people. On the other hand, it may be maintained that, whether in its original design or its subsequent growth, the lay eldership was a politic device for strengthening the ecclesiastical authority by rooting it in lay soil. No doubt ruling elders are laymen elected by laymen; but all who are elected in the higher courts must belong to the guild of eldership, and that guild is created by the clergy. Every one who sits at the table of the kirk-session—the fundamental Presbyterian court—has been ordained to the eldership by a clergyman; and whatever he may turn afterwards to be, he must have entertained principles acceptable to his ordainer. Those so ordained, too, have subscribed the articles of faith and discipline peculiar to the Church. All this is something very different from the election of laymen at large to sit in ecclesiastical courts, as the constituencies elect members of Parliament or of a corporation. As of other institutions connected with the Church, the features of this may be traced in the institutions of the French Huguenots, who guarded it even more strictly than the Scots from any disturbing element.[1]

In the mean time, the more completely they were admitted as a component element in the new organisation,

[1] See in Quick's Synodicon (xxvii.) the canons for "elders and deacons."

the more flagrant became their sin if they withheld its own from the new priesthood. At the Assembly held in the crisis of 1567, "letters missive" were addressed to certain important persons among the landed aristocracy, inviting and persuading them to be present and co-operate with their clerical comrades. Many of them sent letters of "excusation," but a sufficient number attended to create surprise at the resolutions adopted by the Assembly. They were to do all in their power for the suffering clergy, and that not only "to the relief of their present necessity, and while ane perfect order may be taken and established towards the full distribution of the patrimony of the Kirk, according to God's Word;" but they engage to press in Parliament to their uttermost, "that the faithful Kirk of Jesus Christ professed within this realm shall be put in full liberty of the patrimony of the Kirk, according to the book of God, and the order and practice of the primitive Kirk."[1]

These protestations were not only permitted to pass, but were subscribed by about eighty of the most notorious impropriators of Church lands. Foremost in this list appear the signatures of Morton, Glencairn, Mar, Hume, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Lindsay, Ochiltree, Sir James Balfour, Sir James Macgill, Tullibardine, and William Maitland of Lethington.

On the face of the proceedings of Parliament the claims of the Church stand as if they were cordially admitted by the temporal power. A statute in their favour goes out of the strict course of legislative indifference to sympathise with the suffering clergy, and censure their oppressors. "Because," it says, "the ministers have been lang defrauded of their stipends by ane great space, wherethrough they are and sall be constrained to leave their vocation unless remeid be provided;" therefore the Act professes to make sure that "the haill thirds of the haill benefices of this realm sall now instantly, and in all time to come, first be paid to the ministers of the evangel of Jesus Christ and their successors." But this was not all

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 107.

that the Act seemed to promise. The thirds are but a temporary arrangement to relieve the Church of its immediate indigence; and it is only to last until "the Kirk come to the full possession of their proper patrimony, quhilk is the teinds"—that is, the tenths or tithes. Among the official notes of matters more or less adopted by this Parliament, but not formally passed into statute, some portion seems to have been devised for giving what the clergy professed sorely to need—an effective process for recovering the emoluments thus declared to belong to them. By way of preamble to this unpassed measure it is set forth that these remedies should be in force until "the Kirk be put in full possession of the haill patrimony," a term which includes the temporalities as well as the tithes.[1] But all this bore no fruit, if we may except the historical conclusion, that the statesmen of the day were anxious to secure the co-operation of the clergy.

Many signs of the times, however, make it clear that the poor clergy would readily have compounded for a punctual payment of their thirds. The law declared for them, but, as if in furtherance of a fixed policy, omitted to supply them with the practical machinery for enforcing their rights, though an Act professing to do so was, we have just seen, drafted and laid before the Estates. There were difficulties in the way of each clergyman identifying his own. His "third" might have to come out of some estate which had belonged to his Popish predecessor in a distant county. The local collectors paid everything over to the comptroller in exchequer, and of him the clergy had to seek their respective shares without means for recovering them, or even, perhaps, of identifying them. The regent issued an order to the controller to permit the clergy to collect and appropriate their own thirds. But this had no more influence than the other warrants professing to render justice to the clergy, and for several years they bewailed the poverty of their lot, and the hard measure dealt out to them. They at the same time proclaimed that the selfish men who appropriated the patri-

[1] Act. Parl., iii. 37.

mony of the Church were hard masters to their tenants, and rigid exacters of their tithes, and whether disinterestedly or not, they raised an occasional cry of commiseration for those who were thus oppressed.[1]

The political storms close at hand brought no relief to the clergy. In August 1571 we find some of their lay friends, in a memorial to the regent, complaining that all temporal sustenance worth looking after was finding its way into the hands of "dumb dogs." To these fell everything laid apart "for the sustentation of preaching pastors, and for other godly uses." The other side of the picture was: "As touching the condition of our ministers present, it is more miserable nor the condition of a beggar, for beggars have freedom, without reproof, to beg over all; but our poor ministers, bound to their charge, are compelled to keep their house, and with dolorous hearts see their wives, children, and families starve with hunger." The case is expressed with the vehemence of Knox's school:—

"Your Government and greedy wasters violently reives and unjustly consumes that which just law and good order has appointed for their sustentation—to wit, the thirds of benefices, which are now so abused that God cannot long delay to pour forth His just vengeance for this proud contempt of His servants."[2]

We find the new Church gradually resolving itself into that shape and order which enabled it in 1578 to announce in a "Second Book of Discipline" its full organisation into a Presbyterian hierarchy of Sessions aggregating into Presbyteries, while these were grouped into Provincial Synods, and supplied the members to the supreme General Assembly. In 1567 we find, when the Assembly meets, that "for eschewing confusion in reasoning, the whole Assembly present named Mr George Buchanan, Principal of St Leonard's College, in St Andrews College, Modera-

[1] A collection of the documents relating to the thirds of benefices and the claims of the Church will be found in Connel on Tithes, i. 156, and Appendix, 25-27.

[2] Bannatyne's Memorials of Transactions in Scotland. 181.

tor during the convention." This title of moderator was taken from the practice of the French Huguenots, along with other terms, such as that of the "Overture," by which any matter was opened for discussion. The first Protestant Assembly was held in 1559; and though the Scots had thus an example to teach them how to walk, it is probable that afterwards, being masters of their own actions in a free national Church, they afforded more practical instruction to their brethren of France than they received.

Such dignitaries in the old Church as conformed and were received into the new were subjected to its authority as simple ministers. Thus "Adam, called Bishop Orkney," who married the queen to Bothwell, is found in that act to have transgressed the laws of the Kirk, and is deprived of all functions of the ministry. The least conformable feature in the new organisation appears to have been the "Superintendents," for whom, after the first difficulty in organising the several local divisions, the Church seems to have been at a loss to find suitable employment. They appear to have acted after the manner of an executive for giving effect to the instructions of the Assembly and synods. Persons laid under censure are remitted to them for discipline; and we find that the superintendents in general are required to deal with all abbots, bishops, and others within their respective provinces who profess to belong to the Church by drawing its emoluments, and yet who neither perform pastoral duties nor attend at the meetings of the Assembly. They were to be brought to the Assembly, that their right to remain as ministers of the Word might be tested; and if there were no superintendent in the district, the nearest superintendent was to deal with them through "the minister next adjacent."[1]

There is a supposition that it may have been the intention of those early Reformers to confer on the Superintendent important powers and duties in the collation of ministers. One short rule on this ceremony sets forth a very

[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 91.

wide principle of action, however it may have been carried out in detail: "Touching persons to be nominat to kirks, that nane be admitted without the nomination of the people, and due examination and admission by the superintendent."[1]

Among the humbler Protestant clergy a considerable body appear to have been converts from the old Church, and to have been welcomed into the new Establishment without much suspicion or jealousy; but there seems to have been no such readiness to welcome the higher clergy into the new office of superintendent. In one instance, where Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, a member of the offensive Huntly family, professed to hold the office of superintendent, it was jealously and rigorously denied to him.[2]

The form of worship adopted by the new Church seems now to have found its way into ample use. It took shape in a printed liturgy or prayer-book. The critical examination of books of this period, and the comparison of one with another, has naturally become an interesting and affluent source of polemical discussion. It is, indeed, so ample and varied, that it is apt to appal the lay inquirer. The "Uses" in the old Church were multitudinous; and even when they were reduced to uniformity by the Council of Trent, the uniform system was so large and complicated, that to be familiar with it demanded a science in itself. After the Reformation it is needless to say that

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[1] Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 16.

[2] "It was answered by the Assembly, to the petition of Mr Alexander Gordon anent the superintendentship of Galloway, first, that they understood not how he hath any nomination or presentation, either by the Lords of Secret Counsell or province of Galloway; secondly, albeit he had presentation of the lords, yet he has not observed the order keeped in the election of superintendents, and therefore cannot acknowledge him for a superintendent lawfully called for the present, but offered unto him their aid and assistance, if the kirks of Galloway shall suit [sue for the appointment], and the lords present; and requireth that before he depart he subscribe the Book of Discipline. Farther, it was concluded that letters should be sent to the kirks of Galloway, to learn whether they required any superintendent or not, and whom they required."—Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 15.

the divergences among the Protestant communities still supplied an ample variety of form and matter. Like many other portions of theological literature, this has been overloaded by laborious attempts to attach significance to distinctions of a merely casual character, and to attribute a deep mysterious meaning to terms which may have slipped from the author's pen as the nearest he could find to express some common thought.

In the old Romish Breviary, however, there may be marked off an original stock from which all have sprung. The Reformation did not spurn the real spirit of the old worship, even when it destroyed the shrines and abolished the hierarchy of the old Church. In amply supplying itself from the great fountain of the Bible, the framers of the different uses which were amalgamated into the Breviary had chosen the good way in which all must walk together.

The prayer-book of the Church of England at once attests this in the Latin titles of its services, which are the initial words of the old Latin version of the same service, as the "Venite, exultemus Domino," "Te Deum Laudamus," and the "Magnificat."

The leading principles on which in Scotland the new Church stood apart from the old were,—the Pontificate as a divine hierarchy; the real presence in the elements; the spiritual efficacy of the sacraments; the power of absolution; purgatory; and the effective intercession of the saints. These left still a common stock in the great doctrines of Christianity over which it was unnecessary to quarrel. No doubt the Mass and the Mass-book or Missal were abused with vociferous eloquence by the Scots Reformers; but this was because the mass proper belonged to the celebration of the Eucharist, and thus embodied the abjured doctrines of the real presence and the spiritual efficacy of the sacrament. This hatred did not extend to the Breviary as the great storehouse of Christian devotion, and in its affluent resources the various Protestant communities could all find material for their more limited and simple worship.

When the Lords of the Congregation formed their

great league in 1557, they "agreed upon two heads,—first that the common prayer be read in the parish churches on the Sunday, with the lessons of the New and Old Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayer; and secondly, that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture, be had and used privately in quiet houses until authority was obtained from the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." The correspondence of the period leaves no doubt that this "Book of Common Prayer" was the English Liturgy of Edward VI.[1] That it meant, as some have thought, the book afterwards brought from Geneva, is at once contradicted by the mandate regarding "the lessons from the New and Old Testaments," since there are no "lessons" in the Geneva book. In the Book of Discipline of 1560 the English Liturgy is superseded by the adoption of "the Book of our Common Ordour, called the Ordour of Geneva," and popularly known as Knox's Liturgy.

The literary history of this Scots prayer-book is very distinct, and at the same time curiously interesting. Among the many Protestants who were driven abroad by the persecutions in the reign of Mary Tudor, a considerable body congregated in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. It happened that they there met with a body of Huguenot refugees more numerous than themselves. The English refugees negotiated for a joint use of the church occupied by the French, and obtained what they desired under the following conditions, laid down by the municipal authorities of Frankfurt: "That they should have liberty to preach and administer the sacrament in that church which the Frenchmen had, the French one day and the English another day; and on Sunday to choose also their hours as they could agree among themselves; but it was with this commandment, that the English should not dissent from the Frenchmen in doctrine or ceremonies, lest they should thereby minister occasion of offence; and willed further, that before they entered their church they should approve and subscribe

[1] Authorities referred to. Laing's Works of Knox, vi. 278.

the same confession of faith that the Frenchmen had there presented."[1]

It fell to John Knox to be chief in giving effect to this concordat. In the year 1554 he was called to the ministry of the English congregation at Frankfurt. A committee was appointed to aid him in preparing a book of devotion suitable to the occasion. They held that by the spirit, at least, of the municipal direction, they were not bound to conform precisely with the French Calvinistic service, provided they abstained from aught that might prove offensive to the French Huguenots themselves. Hence was adjusted the little book afterwards used at Geneva, and called 'The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly learned man John Calvin.' This, slightly altered and somewhat enlarged, became the Book of Common Order in Scotland.

It had a brief and stormy career among those for whom it was first adjusted. From the beginning there was a minority who protested against any deviation from Church of England practice. These were, before the book was many months old, augmented by an auxiliary band who emigrated to Germany under the guidance of Dr Cox, who had been chaplain to King Edward. He got possession of the pulpit, and denounced all schism from the order of England. This of course called up Knox in retaliation: he denounced the service of England as containing many shreds of Popish idolatry, and showed it to be one of the causes of God's wrath towards England exhibited in the Marian persecution. Cox's party, however, had a weapon of offence which Knox's lacked. They gave forth the responses in a loud voice, a practice, as we shall see, inconsistent with the whole scheme of Calvinistic worship. Knox says of this, "They were admonished not to murmur aloud when the minister prayed; but they would not give place, but quarrelled, and said they would do as they had done in England, and their Church should have an English face. The Lord grant it to have the face of

[1] A Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfurt; Phœnix, ii. 96.

Christ's Church, which is the only matter that I sought—God is my record; and therefore I would have had it agreeable in outward rites and ceremonies with Christian Churches Reformed."[1]

Knox, who had been victorious in more eminent contests, was beaten in this. He and his book were speedily driven from the field. But, through the influence of those who had used it at Frankfurt, it became known among English Protestants as a simple form of worship rendered in the English language; and it long exercised an influence even in England. The more moderate of the Puritans—those who were not hostile to all forms of worship—gave it their adherence. It was sometimes attached, as a becoming book of private devotions, to old English editions of the Bible. It now and then comes on the surface in the history of the early conflict between the Dissenters and the Church. The same year (1567) which saw the final establishment of the Protestants and their Book of Order, was conspicuous in England by the earliest trial for holding a Puritanical conventicle, one of the Acts of which was a protestation in favour of this same Book of Common Order.

This book might, in the language of the present day, be called a prayer-book less ritualistic in character than the English Common Prayer. It was a compromise between that and the prayer-book of the French Huguenots, with a decided preponderance of this latter element. In some instances where the divergence from the English form seems of small moment, it is yet essential, and stands as the representative of broad opinions. For instance, in the Scots, as in the French form, the prayers are not followed by any response from the congregation. The import of this distinction is, that the words used are communicated by the minister to the congregation, who listen to them, but are not bound to announce an instant adoption of them. Though there is a penitential confession of sins, there is nothing answering to what follows in the Common Prayer, "The absolution or remission of sins to be pro-

[1] Knox's Works, iv. 42.

nounced by the priest alone standing, the people still kneeling." This is one of several English usages which seem ingeniously devised to satisfy the views of persons standing far apart from each other in fundamental principle. The Ritualist sees in it an effective absolution; the Evangelical may find in it merely a wholesome reminiscence of those promises of Scripture which are held out to the sincerely penitent. The absolution was one of those features which Calvin desired to re-establish in this modified form, but without success. He had, indeed, in Geneva, to deal with a very peculiar morsel of the work of reformation. The process there was not the reforming or remodelling of existing things. Farrel had swept away every vestige of the Romish worship; and the thunder of heaven had completed his work by tossing down the cross on the top of the great church, which the hand of man could not without great cost and difficulty reach. It fell to Calvin to erect on this vacant arena a system of worship and discipline; but he did so under the eyes of men in jealous alarm of aught that reminded them of the departed abominations. So it was that the constitution and worship of the Presbyterians of Scotland, and of the Huguenots of France, took their prevailing peculiarities from the small republic on the Rhone. In the end the form of absolution was tolerated among the Huguenot churches, but was not made a point of order.[1] The penitential confession itself is a literal translation from the French form.[2]

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[1] "That such churches as were accustomed on sacrament-days or other Sabbaths, after the confession of sins, to pronounce a general absolution, may, if they please, continue in it; but where this custom is not introduced, the synod adviseth of the churches not to admit it, because of the dangerous consequences that may ensue."—Synodicon, can. iv.

[2] "Seigneur Dieu, Père éternel et tout pouissant, nous confessons et recognoisons sans feintise devant ta saincte majesté, que nous sommes pouvres pécheurs, conceus et nais en iniquité et corruption, enclins à mal faire, inutiles à tout bien, et

"O Eternall God and most mercifull Father, we confesse and acknowledge here before Thy divine majestie that we are miserable sinners, conceaved and borne in sinne and iniquitie, so that in us there is no goodness. For the flesh ever-

The Book of Common Order contains a Confession of Faith fundamentally different from that larger Confession separately adopted by the Parliament and the General Assembly. If we seek its origin, we shall find this in a mere recasting of those passages in Calvin's Catechism which contain a critical examination of the Apostles' Creed. The Scots Confession embodies that Creed. The various articles are printed on the margin as a rubric, thus forming the texts on which the several divisions of the Confession are a commentary. Having absolutely no other sanction than the tradition of the Christian Church, the Apostles' Creed has not received much acceptance in Scotland. I am not aware, however, that any prohibition of its use is recorded. When, in the manner we shall afterwards see, a form of service ceased to be used, there was no rule for the use of the Creed; and it fell into disuse, and became virtually unknown among the worshippers in the Presbyterian churches in Scotland. It is curious to watch a tendency to this conclusion in the several editions of the Book of Common Order. The Confession of Faith came to be printed without the rubric—that is to say, the comment of the French and Scots divines was retained, but the articles on which it was a comment, being among the traditions of the Church of Rome, were dropped.[1]

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que de nostre vice nous transgressons sans fin et sans cesse tes saincts commandements. En quoy faisant nous acquerons par ton juste jugement ruine et perdition sur nous."—La Forme des Prières Ecclésiastiques, 1586.

more rebelleth against the spirite, whereby we continuallie transgresse Thine holy precepts and commandments, and so doe purchase to ourselves, through Thy just judgement, death and damnation."—Book of Common Order, 1591.

[1] It may be noted that the Creed, as printed in the rubric of the Confession, is exactly as it is in the Book of Common Prayer, except one word. Where the English book has "He rose again from *the dead*," the Scots has "He rose again from *death*." Perhaps this is a mere slip. The English is the more accurate translation from the Breviary, which has "resurrexit a mortuis," answering to the original, ἐκ νεκρῶν. The French is "resuscité des morts."

Another point of minor criticism suggests itself. Since the Creed is in the Book of Common Order broken up into paragraphs, do these agree with the old divisions maintained in the traditions of the Church? As the reader probably knows, this tradition was, that at

The directions for the ministration of the Lord's Supper, as it is termed in the Book of Common Order, have much in common with the French form. They both materially differed from the English, in driving unworthy persons from participation in the ceremonial. The doctrine of the old Church dealt with the Eucharist as peculiarly appropriate to the sinful, being a means for their redemption. A little of this spirit entered into the Church of England in the warning to those who have intimated an intention to communicate: "If any of those be an open and notorious evil liver, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended, the curate, having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former naughty life," &c. But both in the French and the Scots form there is a solemn exclusion of all unworthy persons from the table.[1] This exclusion, or "excom-

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Pentecost the Creed was revealed to the assembled disciples, not entirely to all, but in twelve separate parts, each revealed to and announced by an individual apostle. The divisions do not agree; and the Calvinistic division is the more logical of the two, as will be seen in the opening passages :—

THE TRADITION.

1. "Petrus dixit, 'Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem.'
2. "Joannes dixit, 'Creatorem cœli et terræ.'
3. "Jacobus dixit, 'Credo et in Iesum Christum, Filum ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.'"—Sixti Senensi Bibliotheca Sancta, 49.

THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER.

1. "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth;
2. "And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord."

[1] DE LA CÈNE.

"Au nom et en l'authorité de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, j'excommune tous idolatres, blasphémateurs, contempteurs de Dieu, hérétiques, et toutes genes qui font sectes à part pour rompre l'unité de l'Eglise, tous perjures, tous ceux qui sont rebelles à pères et à mères et leurs supérieurs, tous seditieux,

THE MINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"In the name and authority of the Eternal God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, I excommunicate from this table all blasphemers of God, all idolaters, all murtherers, all adulterers, all that be in malice or envie; all disobedient persons to father or mother, princes or magis-

munication," as it was termed, is still conspicuous in the commemoration as practised in Scotland. It is called "the fencing of the tables;" and although no form is prescribed for this denunciatory process, it is said to be sometimes all the more terrible that it is left to the indignant eloquence of the presiding minister.

It is observable that the French form keeps clear of perilous matter by offering no definition of the object or the effect of participation in the elements. The direction simply is, that the minister sits down at the table with the others, and sees that they partake of the bread and wine with reverence and in due order, passages of Scripture being read and psalms sung during the partaking. The Book of Common Order goes a step farther towards the definition of an object. The direction is in these words: "The minister breaketh the bread and delivereth it to the people, who distribute and divide the same among themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandment, and likewise giveth the cup; during the which time some place of the Scripture is read which doth lively set forth the death of Christ, to the intent that our eyes and senses may not only be occupied in these outward signs of bread and wine, which are called the visible word, but that our hearts and minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holy sacrament represented." In the Confession of Faith adopted by the Estates and the Assembly there is a far more elaborate definition of the influence attributed by the Kirk to the act of communicating. It is a strange piece of reasoning, like the work of a strong intellect drawn in opposite directions. To one who is practically acquainted with modern Presbyterian doctrine and practice, and who is not deadened to the meaning of the Confession by hearing or reading it as a matter of routine, the explanation is curiously expressive. It is like the writing of one

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mutins, bateurs, noiseurs, adultères, paillards, larrons, avaricieux, ravisseurs, yvrognes, gourmans, et tous ceux qui meinent vi scandaleuse."—Edition 1576, p. 23.

trates, pastors or preachers; all theeves and disceivers of their neighbours; and, finallie, all such as live a life directly fighting against the will of God."—Edition 1591, p. 133.

who is under the spell of the old forms and beliefs, and endeavours to throw them off and adopt the pure theory of commemoration, without entire success.[1]

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[1] "We utterly damn the vanity of they that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs. Na we assuredly believe that by baptism we are ingrafted in Christ Jesus, to be made partakers of His justice, by which our sins are covered and remitted; and also that in the Supper rightly used Christ Jesus is so joined with us that He becomes very nourishment and food of our souls. Not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread in Christ's natural body, and of wine in His natural blood, as the Papists have perniciously taught and damnably believed; but this union and conjunction which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus in the right use of the sacraments is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who by true faith carries us above all things that are visible, carnal, and worldly, and makes us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appears in the presence of His Father for us: and yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place which is betwixt His body now glorified in the heaven, and us now mortal in this world, yet we most assuredly believe that the bread which we break is the communion of Christ's body, and the cup which we bless is the communion of His blood; so that we confess and undoubtedly believe that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, do so eat the body and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that He remains in them and they in Him. Yet that are so made flesh of His flesh, and bane of His banes, that as the eternal Godhead has given to the flesh of Christ Jesus (which of the awin condition and nature was mortal and corruptible) life and immortality, so does Christ Jesus, His flesh and blood eaten and drunken by us, give unto us the same prerogatives; which albeit we confess are neither given unto us at that time only, neither yet be the proper power and virtue of the sacraments only, yet we affirm that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's table, has conjunction with Christ Jesus, as the natural man cannot apprehend. Yea and farther we affirm, that albeit the faithful, oppressed by negligence and manly infirmity, does not profit so much as they would in the very instant action of the Supper, yet shall it after bring fruit forth, as lively seed sown in good ground; for the Holy Spirit, which can never be divided from the right institution of the Lord Jesus, will not frustrate the faithful of the fruit of that mystical action. But all this we say comes of true faith, which apprehends Christ Jesus, who only makes His sacraments effectual unto us; and therefore, whosoever slanders us, as that we affirmed or believed sacraments to be naked and bare signs, do injury unto us, and speaks against the manifest truth. But this liberally and frankly we confess, that we make ane distinction betwixt Christ Jesus in His eternal substance, and betwixt the elements in the sacramental signs; so that we will neither worship the signs in

Among the Huguenots, the ordinances which bound the members of the congregation to the visible Church—baptism, marriage, and the Lord's Supper—were performed in the presence of the congregation assembled at public worship.[1]

In the Scots form of marriage it is directed that "the parties assemble at the beginning of the sermon;" and it seems to have become gradually the rule that marriages as well as baptisms were to be celebrated only on Sundays—at least there are instances where marriage on a "ferial" or ordinary week-day is dealt with as an irregularity.[2]

In the baptisms of the Scots Church, in the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, there was a party who in later times dropped out of the ceremony—the Godfather. The instruction is, that "the infant to be baptised shall be brought to the church on the day

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place of that which is signified by them, neither do we despise and interpret them as unprofitable and vain, but do use them with all reverence, examining ourselves diligently before that so we do, because we are assured by the mouth of the apostle, that such as eat of that bread and drink of that cup unworthily, are guilty of the body and of the blood of Christ Jesus."

[1] "Il est à noter qu'on doit apporter les enfans pour baptiser, ou le Dimanche à l'heure du catéchisme, ou les autres jours, au sermon; afin que comme le baptisme est une réception solenelle en l'église, qu'il se face en la présence de l'assemblée."—Le Forme des Prières, edition 1576.

[2] Thus, on 30th December 1567, the minister of Ratho was suspended for celebrating a marriage to which, among more serious objections, there were, "without proclamation of banns or a testimonial thereof, and upon a ferial day, contrary to all order established in the Kirk."—Book of the Universal Kirk, i. 114. In 1572 Mr John Row was charged with "solemnising the bond of matrimony betwixt the Master of Craufurd and the Lord Drummond's daughter without proclamation of bands, and in like manner out of due time—viz., on a Thursday, at afternoon prayers."—Ibid., 256. On one occasion the question of the proper time for baptising came up in an odd manner, mixed with others of a more serious character. Among a set of perplexing queries to be solved by the Assembly, one is, "What punishment shall be for ane minister that baptises ane murtherer's bairn on ane Monday, not being ane day of preaching, and without repentance of the murtherer remaining at the king's horn?"—that is, a fugitive from justice. The answer is, "Deserved deposition."—Ibid., 345.

appointed to common prayer and preaching, accompanied by the father and godfather; so that after the sermon, the child being presented to the minister, he demandeth this question, 'Do you here present this child to be baptised, earnestly desiring that he may be ingrafted in the mystical body of Christ?'" Perhaps we may take the spirit in which the Scots received the sponsorial institution, so well known still in England, from the following authorised injunction to the Reformed Church in France: "Forasmuch as we have no commandment from the Lord to take godfathers or godmothers, who may present our children unto baptism, there cannot be any particular canon made which shall bind persons to do it. But sith it is a very ancient custom, and introduced for a good end, to wit, to testify the sureties' faith and the baptism of the infant, and also for that they charge themselves with the care of educating the child in case it should be deprived of its parents by death; and for that it doth maintain a sweet communion among the faithful by a conjunction of friendship, they who will not observe it, but will by themselves present their own children, shall be earnestly entreated not to be contentious, but to conform unto the ancient and accustomed order, it being very good and profitable."[1]

In the many editions of the Book of Common Order there are variations, and in some there are additions, which appear not to have been made under any ecclesiastical authority. Thus, as in the English prayer-book, there were hymns translated from the Breviary, having by way of distinctive title the first words of the Latin version. Among these was the "Song of Blessed Mary, called the Magnificat," the "Veni Creator," and the "Nunc Dimittis." There was a calendar, in which the several events of the history of the Virgin which had been selected by the old Church as the object of solemn ceremonies were reverently amended. There were a few saints' days, and some of the saints commemorated in them belonged to tradition, not to Scripture, as St Martin and St Lawrence.

[1] Quick's Synodicon, i. xlv.

We shall again meet with the Book of Common Order when we come to the disputes which ushered in the great civil war of the seventeenth century.[1]

With an origin thus rooted in French soil, it could not be but that the Church of Scotland should bear many marks of its parentage. As we have seen, the organisation of the new Establishment was on the exact model of the Huguenot communities, with the one exception, that in the Superintendents the Scots made what some at least have deemed a nearer approach to a hierarchy, with permanent division of ranks and duties. Some mere incidental points, already casually noticed, perhaps show relationship still more distinctly than those large fundamental features, which may be said to resemble each other because they represent eternal truth.

Thus the very significant symbol afterwards adopted by the Church of Scotland, the burning bush—the bush which Moses beheld burning but unconsumed—was a favourite among the early Huguenots.[2] The term Moderator was

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[1] I have not met in any copy of the French 'Forme des Prières Ecclésiastiques' with the commemoration of saints of the old calendar not belonging to the Biblical period, and all I have seen tends to the opinion that they were especially excluded. Their place, indeed, was otherwise occupied. In the edition of 1576 there are events of Scripture history, and also of history contemporary to the publication of the calendar. But the entries which appear especially to displace those of the translation-day of the medieval saints are such as these :—

"27 *May*.—Mourut Jean Calvin, homme de singulier savoir et grande piété.

"8 *Juillet*.—Jean Hus fut bruslé au Concile de Constance l'an 1415, pour maintenir la vérité de l'Eglise."

[2] The editor of the Synodicon, after telling how the Piedmontese had for their common seal "a taper burning in a golden candlestick, scattering its glorious beams in a sable field of thick darkness," goes on to "another seal, as illustrious an hieroglyphic as the former, appertaining unto the national synods of those renowned and once flourishing, though now desolate, Reformed Churches of France, which was Moses' miraculous vision when he fed the flock under the mount of God—viz., a bramble-bush in a flaming fire, having that essential incommunicable name of God, Jehovah, engraven in its centre, and this motto, '*Comburo non consumor*,' in its circumference —'I burn, but am not consumed. With this those venerable councils sealed all their letters and despatches."—Epistle Dedicatory.

peculiar to the French Protestant Churches, as applied to the chairman or president selected by each ecclesiastical assembly or meeting, whether great or small. The term is familiar to every one in Scotland, as of time-honoured use for the same purpose. Any piece of business of the General Assembly and the other Presbyterian courts in Scotland is opened by an "overture," the direct descendant of a solemn form in the French Parliaments.

The title-page of the earlier editions carries the foreign origin of this liturgy on its face. For instance, the Edinburgh edition of 1565 has 'The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacrament used in the English Church of Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland.' In the editions a few years older, printed abroad, where this announcement of reception by the Church of Scotland stands, there are the words, "approved by the famous and godly learned man John Calvin." Ten years later the title varied to 'The Psalms of David in English Metre, with the Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacrament used in the Church of Scotland.' As the Psalms occupied by far the greater portion of the volume, it came to be popularly called the Psalm-book; and even in this small matter there was an assimilation to French practice which gave the title 'Les Pseaumes de David, mes en Rime François.' In the year 1564 we find an Act of Assembly in which "it was ordained that every minister, exhorter, and reader shall have one of the psalm-books lately printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in prayers, marriages, and ministration of the sacraments."[1]

The early editions of the Psalms are, like the Book of Common Order itself, not uniformly the same; but the bulk of them all was the well-known English translation attributed to "Sternhold and Hopkins." They received some aid from native Scotsmen, two of them men of mark —John Craig and Robert Birt. It is of interest to know that the Regent Murray gave to the cause of psalmody in

1 Book of the Universal Kirk (Bannatyne edition), i. 54. This order is not contained in the octavo edition.

Scotland his assistance as a man not only zealous for the cause of the Reformation and all things especially belonging to it, but as one who evidently had his own views on music and its right adaptation to the purposes of collective worship. We have the tunes "harmonised" into four parts by his desire; and know that the task was undertaken by a certain David Publes or Peebles, and because he was not sufficiently earnest in the task, completed by Nicholas Wood.[1]

The "Book of Common Order" came forth in many editions. The later of these vary from the earlier, chiefly in the removal of services applicable to events contem-

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1 Wood tells us how "my Lord James—who after was Earl of Murray and regent—being at the Reformation Prior of St Andrews, causes ane of his canons to name David Publes, being ane of the chief musicians into this land, to set three parts to the tenor: and my lord commanded the said David to learn the curiosity of music, and so to make all dulce, and so he has done; but the said David he was not ernest; but I being come to this town to remain, I was ever requesting and soliciting till they were all set." Wood was a disappointed man, not meeting his reward, and believing that the world was coming to the condition when only those who contributed to substantial wants or sensual luxuries would be valued. "Notwithstanding of this travel I have taken," he says, "I cannot understand but music shall perish in this land alutterly;" and "to ane great man that hes but ane reasonable grip of music these five books are worth their weight in gold." The "parts," according to facsimiles recently made, are richly adorned or illuminated according to the art of the day. We have, in rather spirited art, allegorical figures, or rather imaginary full-length portraits of the performers in the "parts," with a poetic explanation. We have for the first "TENNOUR," introduced with—

> "I may be knawen by my heavenly line,
> I am ane man of mickil modesty,
> And therefore sings my part with notes most true,
> As it affeirs unto my faculty."

Next comes "TRIBBILL," a more jovial figure, announced by—

> "My glistering colour, glorious and green,
> Betokens youth, with glad and merry heart,
> Whilk ever does with courage from the splene,
> But praise or paine, with pleasure sing my part."

See "An Account of the Scottish Psalter, A.D. 1566, by David Laing, Proc. Ant. Soc. Scot., vii. 445, and "History of the Scottish Metrical Psalms, with an Account of the Paraphrases and Hymns and of the Music of the Old Psalter; illustrated with twelve plates of MS. music of 1565, by the Rev. J. W. Macmeeken.

porary with the early issues, such as "a thanksgiving unto God after our deliverance from the tyranny of the Frenchmen, with prayers made for the continuance of the peace betwixt the realms of England and Scotland." Its formal name, as we have seen, was 'The Book of Common Order,' and this name among the Protestants of Scotland became the equivalent of 'The Book of Common Prayer' among those of England. After the lapse of nearly a hundred years from the introduction of the Scots form, we shall again come across it in troublesome times, and find it dropping, almost unnoticed, out of existence, as the companion of the English prayer-book, when that was assailed and conquered by enemies. The Book of Common Order, meanwhile, had so unobtrusive an existence as the service-book of the Scots Protestants, that references to it in the civil and even in the ecclesiastical history of the period are extremely rare.[1]

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[1] Hence the following slight morsel of comparative criticism by two lay politicians has value from the scantiness of other notice. It arose out of the events to be presently told. While Queen Mary was detained at Bolton Castle in July 1568, some English statesmen seem to have yielded to the delusion that she was about to become an earnest member of the Church of England. At that time Sir Francis Knollys, Queen Elizabeth's vice-chamberlain, a stern servant of the English Crown, but courteous and kindly, had the chief responsibility about Queen Mary's disposal. Naturally it was of interest to him to know what truth was in the rumour that she was becoming attached to the English Common Prayer-book. Hence we have from him this account of a conversation with Lord Herries, Queen Mary's ambassador or advocate at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and, it may be noted, a Protestant: "And touching the condition of this queen receiving of the form of common prayer after the manner of England, I said unto my Lord Herrys, that if he meant thereby to condemn the form and order of common prayer now used in Scotland, agreeable with divers well-reformed churches in Germany, Switzerland, France, and in Savoy, and that withal he would reject and annihilate the Confession of Faith acknowledged in Scotland by Parliament, because there is no such Confession of Faith acknowledged in England, or that he meant to expel all the learned preachers of Scotland if they would not return back to receive and wear cornered caps and tippets with surplice and coopes, which they have left by order continually since their first receiving of the Gospel into that realm,—then, howsoever he meant to further religion hereby, I said I thought and feared that he might so rather contend so far for the form and order

So it was that, by a strange yet distinct and traceable succession of events, it was the destiny of Scotland to be again influenced by France. And in some measure the new influence was stronger than the old. That had been political and superficial, but this was social and vital. A despotic Court, swarming with courtiers affluent and luxurious, had few points of sympathy for the Scots. The broken and persecuted Huguenots had claims on them of another kind; and they are not to be blamed for failing to see, as we in calmer times can from many incidents, that had the Huguenots been victorious, they would have been as bloody and tyrannical as their opponents. This common feeling with their brethren of Scotland cheered the hearts and strengthened the hands of the French Protestants, and it was often remarked by their enemies how evil an influence it had on the rebels in France to witness the success of their brother rebels in Scotland, and peruse their pestilent literature.

The possession of a form of service was, as it happened, of essential use to the new Church in helping it to economise its limited ministering power. The First Book of Discipline decreed that "none ought to presume either to preach or yet to minister the sacraments" but those who were ordained ministers; but the same code made provision, that "to the churches where no ministers can be had presently, must be appointed the most apt men that distinctly can read the common prayers and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the church till they grow to greater perfection."[1] A large and affluent congregation would have a reader to assist the minister; in other instances a group of parishes would each have a reader,

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of common prayer that he might bring the substance of religion in peril, and that he might so fight for the shadow and image of religion, that he might bring the body and truth in danger: whereunto he answered, that in cities and towns, where learned preachers remain, he allowed very well of the form and order of common prayer and preaching now used in Scotland; but in the countries, where learned men were lacking, he said the form of common prayer in England was better to be allowed, in his judgment,—whereunto I agreed very well with him."—Anderson, iv. 110, 111.

[1] First Book of Discipline, iv. 1, 19.

while a minister presided over all, and visited each on occasion to preach and administer ecclesiastical rites. It appears that often some half-educated priest or friar of the old Church was content to earn a scanty living in the new as a "reader."[1] A well-informed writer says that "in 1567 there were about 289 ministers and 715 readers in the Church."[2]

As it was the object of the promoters of the Book of Common Order to preserve a ritual for the congregation, and yet to keep it absolutely clean from all those doctrines and practices which their Church condemned, there were two matters demanding much nicety and skill in their handling. The one was the commemoration of the atonement or of the Last Supper, which was to be cleansed of the idolatry of the real presence; the other was the burial of the dead, where any admission of purgatory, or the possibility that there was still an opportunity of doing anything on earth that might be of service to the soul of the departed, must be shunned.[3] The commemoration of the Last Supper has already been discussed, and it will again come up when a proposal to supersede it became

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[1] Sprott, introduction to the Book of Common Order, xxiii. This author says, "Some of the early session records at St Andrews mention the reception of many conforming priests." It may be noted, that of the many editions of the Book of Common Order, that here referred to is the one to be consulted for historical purposes. Its title is, 'The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, commonly known as John Knox's Liturgy, and the Directory for the Public Worship of God, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; with Historical Introductions and Illustrative Notes by the Rev. George W. Sprott, B.A., and the Rev. Thomas Leishman, M.A. 1868.'

[2] Sprott, introduction to the Book of Common Order, xxiii.

[3] A very instructive account of the feeling ever entertained by the thorough Presbyterian party on this point will be found in a pamphlet called 'Free notes on the late Religious Celebration of the Funeral of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales. By Scoto Britannus. 1817.' This is attributed to Dr M'Crie; and to one familiar with his works internal evidence immediately confirms the imputation. It is thoroughly warmed with the primitive Presbyterian zeal ever burning within him, and is composed with a purity of style, and illustrated by an abundance of learning, not invariably found in attendance on that kind of zeal.

an element in a memorable contest. For the burial of the dead it was thought the safer course to avoid all form. In the book there is merely this instruction: "The corpse is reverently brought to the grave, accompanied with the congregation, without any further ceremonies; which being buried, the minister, if he be present and required, goeth to the church, if it be not far off, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people touching death and resurrection."

The First Book of Discipline tempers the abjuration of the offensive doctrines with a certain misgiving about the entire abandonment of ceremonial. It says, "Burial in all ages hath been holden in estimation to signify that the same body that was committed to the earth should not utterly perish but should rise again. And the same we would have kept within this realm, provided that superstition, idolatry, and whatsoever hath proceeded of a false opinion, and for advantage' sake, may be avoided; as singing of mass, placebo, and dirige, and all other prayers over or for the dead, are not only superstitious and vain, but also are idolatry, and do repugne to the plain Scriptures of God." The conclusion is: "For avoiding all inconvenients, we judge it best that neither singing nor reading be at the burial; for albeit things sung and read may admonish some of the living to prepare themselves for death, yet shall some superstitious and ignorant persons ever think that the singing and reading of the living do and may profit the dead. And therefore we think most expedient that the dead be conveyed to the place of burial with some honest company of the Church, without either singing or reading—yea, without all kinds of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave with such gravity and solemnity as those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of death. We are not ignorant that some require ane sermon at the burial, or else some places of Scripture to be read, to put the living in mind that they are mortal, and that likewise they must die." But great caution is recommended, lest words be used that may "nourish super-

stition and a false opinion." And there is a special danger here, that "either shall the ministers for the most part be occupied in preaching funeral sermons, or else they shall have respect to persons—preaching at the burial of the rich and honourable, but keeping silence when the poor or despised departeth." [1]

So far the Book of Discipline in the ordinary current editions. In one version, however, supposed to have been specially approved by Knox, there is added after the words "they must die," this passage: "And yet, notwithstanding, we are not so precise but that we are content that particular kirks use them in that behalf, with the consent of the ministry of the same, as they will answer to God and Assembly of the Universal Kirk gathered within the realm." [2] Here is a charitable opening left for that innate desire to which the funeral ceremonies and monumental edifices have testified over all the world—the desire to scatter affluent honour over the memory of the dead out of the overflowing hearts of the living who held them dear. Whether under this sanction or not, incidents occur which show that funerals were accompanied by pomps and ceremonies, which were repressed when the sterner Presbyterians had their ascendancy in 1643; and there are traces of arrangements by some of the local judicatories of the Church for methodising a form of funeral service.[3]

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[1] A Presbyterian divine, explaining the offices of his Church eighty years later, says of funeral sermons that they "do beget superstition and tend to flattery, make the Gospel to be preached with respect of persons, and are most pressed by such as do least regard sermons at other times."—Henderson's Government and Order of the Church of Scotland, 28.

[2] Laing's edition of Knox's Works, ii. 250.

[3] See "The Forme and Manner of Buriall usit in the Kirk of Montrois;" Wodrow Miscellany, 295. This service contains a dirge, sweet and solemn, from the Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, beginning—

"Our brother let us put in grave,
And na doubt thereof let us have,
But he shall rise on doomesday,
And have immortal life for aye.

He is of earth, and of earth made,
And man return to earth through deid;
Syne rise shall frae the earth and ground
Ouhen that the last trumpet shall sound."

Before leaving the Book of Common Order, it is proper to take note of an attempt to extend its benefits to the Highlanders. The merit of this attempt will perhaps be best understood by looking to the contemporary dealing of the English Government with Ireland, where the Celtic element eminently preponderated in the population, instead of being, as in Scotland, a poor fraction of it. It was not until the seventeenth century that any book of devotion suited for the use of the native Irish was published, and then—if such a boon could ever have been effective — it came too late. The "vulgar tongue" in which, under the Reformation policy, the Irish were to worship, was not more understood by them than the Chinese, and was only known to be the language of their detested Saxon oppressors. The Irish Uniformity Act of 1560 extended the English Common Prayer-book to Ireland, and ordained that all persons not having any reasonable excuse for absence should resort to the churches to hear it read. A strange exception in this Act is a signal instance of a law declaring its own futility. It is provided "that in every church or place where the common minister or priest hath not the use of the English tongue"—and that was everywhere beyond the English pale, and over much territory within it—the service might be in Latin.[1]

The "mere Irish" who knew no English may have picked up a little Latin from explanations made by the priest on passages in the Breviary. Even where they did

[1] "It shall be lawful for the same common minister or priest to say and use the matins, even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and each of the sacraments, and all their common prayer, in the Latin tongue." Yet there is a touch of misgiving that there should be something better, if only the English Government could be at the trouble and expense of effecting it: "That if some good means were provided that they might use the prayer, service, and administration of the sacraments set out and established by this Act, in such language as they might best understand, the due honours of God should be thereby much advanced; and for that also the same may not be in their native language, as well for difficulty to get it printed as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters."—Irish Stat., 2 Eliz. ch. ii. See a good account of the matter in King's Church History of Ireland, i. 755.

not understand the meaning of the Latin, it would naturally have a devotional sound in their ears, though it is likely that whatever feeling of this kind arose would tend more towards the old Church than the new.

In secular matters the Celt of Scotland was scarce less harshly treated than the Celt of Ireland; but it is pleasant to find that he was not left in the same spiritual destitution, and that the Saxon Protestant tried in some measure to make him a sharer in the privileges of the new faith. In 1567 a prayer-book in Highland Gaelic was printed in Edinburgh. It was an adaptation of the Book of Common Order, by John Carsewell, Bishop of the Isles, being a translation of the book "adapted in some cases to the peculiar manners of the Highlanders." It has the distinction to be the earliest printed book in any of the Celtic languages.[1]

If we ask whether, in the new form of religious service, there was anything to compensate for the influence on the popular mind of the ceremonials and æsthetic apparatus of the old Church, we must be content to find it in vocal music. The officiating clergyman might or might not be gifted with fiery eloquence, but it was always in the power of a musically-inclined congregation to enjoy the luxury of song in vocal praise. As the forms both of the constitution of the Church and its service were taken

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[1] Reid, Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica, 43, 44. This author says, "This work is of uncommon rarity, and is the FIRST GAELIC BOOK PRINTED. Only two copies are known to exist." It was said that the two had become reduced to one, and then there was a rumour, fortunately proving unfounded, that this one had been lost out of the Duke of Argyle's library at Inverary. There is a copy in the British Museum. It is not complete, but it is believed that its imperfections might be supplied from a fragment in the library of Edinburgh College. The title-page is supplied in manuscript from the Bibliotheca of Reid, and is 'Foirmna nvrrnvidheadh agas freasdal na Sacramuinteadh, agas foirceadul an chreidimh christuidhe andso sios,' &c." The press-mark is C 36 a. It will be satisfactory to those who are interested alike in the devotional arrangements of the period and in Celtic literature to know that the Rev. Dr Maclauchlan, known for his translation of and notes on the Dean of Lismore's Book, and for many other valuable services, has been editing Carsewell's version of the Book of Common Order.

from the French, so this, so far as it was borrowed, was brought from Germany. The Germans and the Scots are both a people eminently musical, each with their own great and original works in that art. In its application to vocal praise, the Scots participated with the Germans in the grand hymnology of Luther and his followers, still so much sung and beloved in their fatherland. We have seen that Knox had a congregation in Frankfurt-on-the-Main; and there were many other Scots Protestants in different parts of Germany at the period when Reformation principles had spread in Scotland, but were neither established nor protected. Conspicuous among those who planted this Scoto-German school in their native land was a family of Wedderburns belonging to Dundee. It is true, that both the German and the Scots hymn-writers drew fundamentally on the great store of hymns, chiefly in monkish Latin, composed by the old Church, and that when translations are made from a dead language into two living languages, rising from a common Teutonic root, there will naturally be a similarity between the two, especially if both be literally exact. But an enthusiastic and accurate critical inquirer has shown coincidences of a kind only to be accounted for by the one translator having received at least an influence from the other.[1]

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[1] 'The Wedderburns and their Work; or, The Sacred Poetry of the Scottish Reformation in its Historical Relation to that of Germany. By Alexander F. Mitchell, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, St Andrews. 1867.' Here is a specimen :—

GERMAN.	SCOTS.
"Nun hörend zu, ihr Christen leut, wie leyb vnd seel gegnander streyt; Allhie auff erd in diser zeyt heb'n sie ein stettigs kriegen, keins mag vom andern fliehen."	"All Christen men take tent and lier, How saull and body ar at wier, Upon this eird baith lait and eir, With cruell battell identlie, And ane may nocht ane uther flie."

The help from the German will be more distinct in some specimens of macaronics where there were only patches of Latin, and these had to be put together with vernacular words :—

GERMAN.	SCOTS.
'In dulci jubilo, Nun singet und seyd froh,	"In dulci jubilo, Now let us sing with mirth and jo.

These godly songs and ballads, as they were called, would not in all things be to the mind of orthodox Presbyterians in the present day.[1] But there is a very conspicuous and far from reverential feature common to both the German and the Scots versions. The old Church had a policy for securing the attachment of the most ignorant and brutal of the populace by countenancing and taking share in popular saturnalia, supposed in great measure to be of heathen origin. Such were the Mysteries, and the revolting festivals of the new year. Somewhat in imitation of this policy, besides the translations of the old hymns, it was attempted to subsidise the popular ballads and songs of the people to the purposes of devotion. That the national music of Scotland can be made as solemn as it is sweet, will become evident to any one who hears Tullochgorum, or any other riotous strathspey, slowly performed on the organ. But these inventors did not stop with the music. They used the words of the ballads with an application the converse of what is called travesty. What was of the rude and ribald character was parodied into the pious. We cannot speak with precision from the experience of the present day on the influence that certain agencies may have had three hundred years ago, but surely we may believe that religion lost more than it gained by this operation.[2] The chief merit conceded to

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Unsers hertzen's wonne, liegt in præsepio,
Und leuchtet als die sonne, Matris in græmio,
Alpha es et Omega, Alpha es et Omega,
O Jesu parvule, Nach dir ist mir so weh,
Tröst mir mein gemuthe, O puer optime."

Our heartis consolation lyes in prin-cipio,
And schynes as the sunne matris in gremio.
Alpha es et Omega, Alpha es et Omega.
O Jesu parvule, I thirst sore efter Thee;
Comfort my hart and minde, O puer optime."

[1] For instance, following the name of the Redeemer :—

"Next Him to luf His mother fair
With steadfast heart for ever mair,
She bore the birth freed us from care."

[2] Of the parodies here referred to, the following instances may suffice :—

"'Quho is at my windo? quho, quho?
Go from my windo, go, go!
Quho callis thair, sa lyke a straingair
Go from my window, go!'

it in the present day is, that it has preserved some vestiges of old Scots music, showing that tunes now known and practised are older than the Reformation, and that others then popular have since been lost.

The few existing copies of the 'Godly Psalms and Spiritual Songs' have been treated with close and skilful criticism.[1] How many editions they may have appeared in is undecided. Old copies of the book are extremely rare, and the cause of the rarity evidently is, not because few copies were printed, but because the book was so popular and so extensively used that the copies of it were worn out. Its contents, however, achieved no permanent popularity. While they fell into oblivion, sacred music did not decrease. The Psalter or "Psalm-book" became the great treasury of vocal praise, and the musical genius

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'Lord, I am heir, ane wretchit mortall,
That for Thy mercy dois cry and call
Unto Thé, my Lord celestiall.'"

Again—

"With huntis up, with huntis up,
It is now perfeit day;
Jesus our King is gane a-hunting,
Quha lykis to speid thay may.

Ane cursit fox lay hid in rox
This lang and mony ane day,
Devouring scheip, quhill he micht creip
Nane might him schaip away."

The cursed fox is of course the Church of Rome. The following is perhaps still a stronger specimen :—

"Johne, cum kis me now;
Johne, cum kis me now;
Johne, cum kis me by-and-by,
And make no moir adow.

The Lord thy God I am
That Johne does thé call.
Johne representit man
Be grace celestiall;
For Johne God's grace it is
(Quha list till expone the same)
Oh Johne, thou did amis
Quhen that thou loist this name."

[1] Some fragments of the godly songs were printed by Lord Hailes. They were reprinted more fully by Sir John Graham Dalzell. Whoever desires them in their most accurate form, with the fullest introduction to their literary history, will consult 'A Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs, commonly known as the Gude and Godlie Ballads,' edited by David Laing, 1868.

of the religious community found sufficient occupation in adapting all the psalms to congregational use. They were adapted to "part-singing" or harmony.[1] This art was taught in the chief towns of Scotland in the "Sang Schule," an institution fitted to go home to the heart of the German both in name and purpose. We have an instance of the influence of this teaching in 1582, when John Durie, a popular minister, returning from banishment, went up Leith Walk in a procession of Edinburgh citizens, who, as we are told, sang the 124th Psalm "till heaven and earth resounded."[2]

Before returning from this ecclesiastical digression, to follow the course of political events, let us say a word or two on the places where the people worshipped. Throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century we find the churches breaking up into that condition of ruin which the early Reformers were reputed to have accomplished at once. To their leaders the objects of offence were those which partook in what they counted idolatry—everything connected with the mass and its transubstantiation; the crucifixes, images, and pictures which were used for breaking the second commandment. These things could not be destroyed by a rough mob without other parts of the edifice suffering. Buildings bearing the marks of mutilation and fracture are ever subject to disrespectful usage. There was no fund for the protection of the edifices, and the State left them to their fate.

Even in so early a voice of the new Church as the First Book of Discipline, we find an exhortation in terms that imply great urgency and need of remedy: "Lest that the Word of God and ministration of the sacraments, by unseemliness of the place, come in contempt, of neces-

[1] The division into the four parts—"tenor," "treble," "counter," and "bassus"—does not appear to have been printed in the Book of Common Order earlier than the year 1635; but it had then been long in use, the variations being marked off with the pen to save the cost of printing. See 'The Scottish Metrical Psalter,' by the Rev Neil Livingston, 1864; and Mr Macmeeken's book, cited above.

[2] Calderwood, iii. 346; Melville's Diary, 134.

sity it is that the churches and places where the people ought publicly to convene, be with expedition repaired, in doors, windows, thack, and with such preparations within as appertaineth as well to the majesty of the Word of God as to the ease and commodity of the people. And because we know the slothfulness of men in this behalf, and in all others which may not redound to their private commodity, strait charge and commandment must be given, that within a certain day the reparations must be begun, and within another day to be affixed by your honours that they be finished; penalties and sums of money must be enjoined, and, without pardon, taken from the contemners." [1]

The lead on the roofs of ecclesiastical buildings was coveted by the State for warlike purposes, and there was an excuse for removing it, as it was disappearing through private pillage, and had better be put to use than lost. In 1568 the lead on the Cathedral of Elgin was so removed "for the sustentation of the men at war," and the same fate befell St Machar's, in Aberdeen.[2] The clergy, instead of welcoming the adversity thus befalling the temples of the old worship, were loud in lamentations and reproaches, heard by the possessors of the ecclesiastical revenues with supreme indifference. The records of the various General Assemblies provide many testimonies of this sort; but perhaps more expressive than any of them is this record, from a sermon preached before the regent and nobility in 1572 by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline: "Now to speak of your temples, where the Word of God ought to be preached and the sacraments ministered. All men sees to what miserable ruin and decay they are come; yea, they are so profaned, that, in my conscience, if I had been brought up in Germany, or any other country where Christ is truly preached, and all things done decently and in order, according to God's Word, and had heard of that purity of religion that is among you, and for the love thereof had taken travail to

[1] Laing's edition of Knox's Works, ii. 252.
[2] Shaw's Province of Moray, 217; Privy Council Records.

visit this land, and there should have seen the foul deformity and desolation of your kirks and temples, which are mair like to sheep-cots than the houses of God, I could not have judged that there had been any fear of God or right religion in the maist part of this realm."[1] There is abundant testimony that the clergy of the Reformation did their best for the preservation and good order of the fabrics of the churches.

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[1] Reprint, 73.

CHAPTER L

REGENCY OF MURRAY.

THE REGENT'S GOVERNMENT—ITS STRENGTH—ITS DIFFICULTIES—THE DEALING WITH THE MURDERERS OF THE KING—THE CHURCH AND THE HOLDERS OF ECCLESIASTICAL ESTATES—NEWS OF THE ESCAPE OF THE QUEEN—WHAT IS KNOWN OF HER CAPTIVITY—LOCHLEVEN CASTLE AND ITS INMATES—PROJECTS FOR ESCAPE—FINAL SUCCESS—FLIGHT TO HAMILTON—GATHERING THERE—THE REGENT AT GLASGOW—THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE—FLIGHT TO DUMFRIESSHIRE—TO ENGLAND—THE PERPLEXITIES OF THE SITUATION—ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL POLITICS—RESIDENCE OF MARY AT CARLISLE—HER BLANDISHMENTS—SEEKS A MEETING WITH ELIZABETH—REMOVAL TO BOLTON.

MEANWHILE the executive government was emphatically of that kind which it is usual for history to call "vigorous." The Border marauders had not felt so heavy a hand on them since the days of James IV.; but it was a hand guided by a wiser head, which sought to effect real order and obedience, instead of wasting strength in irritating petulance and unproductive vengeance. As Throckmorton said, "He seeks to imitate rather some which have led the people of Israel, than any captain of our age. As I can learn, he meaneth to use no dallying, but either he will have obedience for this young king of all Estates within this realm, or it shall cost him his life; and yet I see no disposition in him either to bereave the queen of her life, or to keep her in perpetual prison. He is resolved to defend those lords and gentlemen who have taken this matter in hand, though all the princes in Christendom would band against them."[1]

[1] Stevenson's Selections, 282.

The efforts to punish the subordinate actors in the king's murder were quickened and strengthened. On the 3d of January 1568, Dalgleish and Powrie, young Hay of Talla and John Hepburn, were hanged. They were desperate men who had set their lives upon a die. They could not possibly escape vengeance save through the ultimate triumph and irresistible supremacy of their master; but he was fleeing for his life, and the poor men felt the crushing pressure on them to be so absolute that they offered no defence or denial. One of them, John Hepburn, dropped some remarks, which are touching in themselves, and have an apt bearing on the tenor of events. He said, "Let na man do evil for counsel of great men or their masters, thinking they sall save them; for surely I thought that night that the deed was done, that although knowledge should have been gotten, na man durst have said it was evil done, seeing the handwrites [signatures to the band], and acknowledging the queen's mind thereto." And further, "In the Tolbooth he required John Brand, minister of the congregation, to pass to my Lord Lindsay, and say, 'My lord, heartfully I forgive your lordship, and also my lord regent, and all others, but especially them that betrayed me to you, as ye will answer before God in the latter day, to do your diligence to bring the rest who was the beginners of this wark to justice, as ye have done to me, for ye knaw it was not begun in my heid.'"[1]

This pointed at the one great blot in the regent's government. No doubt the victims were the practical men who had done the deed. Of those who had hands blackened with powder, and clothes torn with clambering over walls, justice had sought out all, from the great leader himself downwards. If there were others who had counselled and promoted the deed, the "band" which would have condemned them was destroyed. Yet all the world could point them out, and some of them were high in place and power. All this is indubitable, yet must it depend on the moral atmosphere of the time how heavy it is to weigh. It was an occasion when the question of

[1] Anderson's Collections, ii. 160, 161.

power stood in the path before conscience and duty. To close at once with such men as Morton, Lethington, and Balfour, would not have been prompt administration of justice, but civil war. The task might have been undertaken by some fatalist who made no balance of means and ends, but went straight to his work, conscious of rectitude and confident of success. It might also have been undertaken by one less scrupulous than Murray, for the reward would have been brilliant. Any man with his pretensions, had he broken all the factions in Scotland, and governed without their support, must have taken the crown to himself as the trophy of his sword and of his bow, unless, indeed, some man still more moderate and scrupulous than it is easy to suppose Murray to have been. As matters stood, he was somewhat in the position of the diplomatist who has to bully a barbarous potentate for some act of tyranny; the diplomatist knows well what man of power commanded the deed, but he must be content to see it avenged on some poor underling who did as he was bidden.

Murray went far enough for his own safety towards raising hostility. There was a menace in his strength that made the unscrupulous uneasy. The Hamiltons saw in it a barrier to their prospects. The encouragement he gave the Protestant clergy to look to something from the ecclesiastical revenues sent a lively alarm to the hearts of many powerful men who had recently been enriched by happy accidents. It might be said that the nation was stagnating into a condition of quiet gloom, when all at once it was electrified by the news that Queen Mary had escaped from her prison, and was at Hamilton at the head of an army.

We have seen that she was conveyed to Lochleven Castle on the 17th of June 1567. She escaped on the 2d of May 1568, so that she had been a prisoner for a few days more than ten months. The nature of the illustrious captive's life on this island is hidden in mystery. We know nothing about it save in the few revelations which she herself was able to send past those who watched vigilantly over her. There were eager watchers and in-

quirers outside during her abode there. It may be said that the same eager curiosity about her prison life there has lived down to the present day, and all unsatisfied. In the character of what remains of Lochleven Castle there is the same almost provoking reticence. It is only like a hundred other old feudal houses in Scotland, in revealing little or nothing of the way of life of those by whom it was inhabited; but then no one cares to question the others, and their silence is of no moment. About this castle, however, the world could not be more inquisitive than it is, had it been a royal palace rich in historical associations, instead of the sordid ruin of a country gentleman's house. For the thousands who visit it as a sort of shrine, the half-Highland lake and the green ruin on the island have their charms as a piece of landscape; but when we stand among the ruins, there is nothing to enlighten us but the common narrow square tower of Scotland, with a few fragments of minor buildings round it.

The square tower belongs to a period in which the baronial architecture of Scotland is signally inexpressive. Gothic decoration had gone, and the French decorations of the Renaissance had not yet replaced it in Scotland. One well accustomed to the old fortified houses of Scotland would say that this might have been built during any part of the hundred years of which one half was before and the other after Queen Mary entered it. On first sight it might be referred to the latter half; but there is a feature available to take it back. On three of the angles there are machicolated circular projections, which might have belonged to turrets with spiral tops of the French kind, or might have been merely flanking projections or small bastions never roofed. It becomes clear on close inspection that they are of this kind, and that they naturally belong to the period earlier than the introduction of the turret.

The stranger at Lochleven is surprised to find that what is termed a castle has so little of the fortress in it; but in the sixteenth century to be on an island in an inland lake was to be strongly fortified. Lochleven Castle could have offered no resistance to the artillery even of the early half

of the sixteenth century. Of the tower still extant, the lower floor under ground is vaulted, and so is the second. Other three floors have been of wood laid on wooden rafters. Ambitious tourists who look at the narrow space within the four thick walls, have an opportunity for reflecting on the mutability of human things when they figure the mistress of the most splendid of European Courts in a splendid age doomed to abide in such a dwelling. But even on this point the ruins are true to their uncommunicative character. In fact we know no more from them of the method in which the captive was housed and tended than we would know if the island had been bare. It was because it was on an island, not because it was strongly built, that the abode of the Douglases was secure. The island may have been covered by any amount and kind of buildings of stone or even of wood. It is a vain task, therefore, to argue on the history of the captive's treatment from the aspect of the ruins of Lochleven Castle.[1] The

[1] The author may be charged with a commission of the offence which he denounces, in saying so much about this old ruin and the revelations that may or may not be drawn from it. His defence is, that attempts have been made at considerable length to draw history out of these stones. It is necessary here either to accept the history so told, or to reject it; and a few words are required even to show that for such a history the material is insufficient. We know that in Scotland many islands in inland lakes were places of strength, yet few of them contain the remains of baronial buildings. Although meagre both in decorative and defensive architecture, Lochleven Castle is perhaps the most important remnant of a purely Scots island-fortress. Its nearest rival is Loch-an-Eilan, near Kingussie, in Inverness-shire. Two other island-fortresses—Dune and Lochindorb—are of the architecture called Edwardian, and belong to the period of the English domination. On the island of Inchmahome, where Queen Mary in her infancy was placed for safety during the English invasion, the buildings were monastic, yet they were selected for their secureness. M. Lamartine thus cites the authority of one who, as he says, had visited Lochleven: "The sojourn at Lochleven, over which romance and poetry have shed their light, must be depicted by history only in its nakedness and horrors. The castle, or rather fortress, is a massive block of granite flanked by heavy towers, peopled by owls and bats, eternally bathed in mists, and defended by the waters of the lake."—Mary Stuart, by Alphonse de Lamartine, 73. The material of which the castle was built is perhaps of little moment; but if it be worth while being particular about it, it is also

building is now dreary and comfortless in its age; and if that be a feature associated with the treatment of the captive, it is but just to remember that if old now it was once new. From what has just been said it must have been but recently built when Queen Mary lived in it, or in a building beside it, at a time when Lochleven Castle was the residence of a powerful baron and his wife. The conclusion of all is, that there is nothing in the conditions to justify the inference that the captive was to be sent thither as to a place of sordidness and severity, as well as of seclusion and security. In any stronghold not upon an island she must have been subject to more restraint; for it was not in Scotland, as afterwards in England, where she could go forth attended by a retinue, and even join the hunt. She was, however, in the most civilised district of Scotland, with the comforts and luxuries of the age close at hand. The three chief towns, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth, were not far off. The Fifeshire seaports, then carrying on a brisk trade in wines and other French imports, were still nearer: the chief among them, Inverkeithing, lay but a moderate walk from Lochleven. Close by was a mountain district abounding in game. The lake supplied water-fowl, and its trouts are yet renowned among anglers as unmatched by any others in the British waters.

Her keeper, the widow Lady Douglas, by profession a Protestant, the mother of the illegitimate regent, might be supposed unlikely to show favour to the Popish woman who had inherited the crown of James V. The days were when she herself looked to be Queen of Scotland; and she saw a son arise to her who would have been the greatest king Scotland had seen since the days of Robert Bruce. By a succession of strange and criminal calamities, the actual office of King of Scots, though not its title, had fallen to that son, the offspring of her guilt or weakness. All these things might naturally accompany the story of a

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worth while being accurate. The stone is not granite. The district belongs to the sandstone formation, and the castle was naturally built of the native material.

lovely victim to a cruel jaileress. There is no evidence, however, that the lady of Lochleven treated her prisoner harshly.

Much vigilance was necessary, nevertheless, and that could not be accomplished without giving annoyance and even pain. The daughters of the house shared the prisoner's bed. To one who had enjoyed full command over the stately reserve of the Court of France, and the impregnable barrier of isolation which it had put at her disposal, this may have been a heavy grievance; it can be paralleled only by the sufferings of people accustomed to civilised refinement when their lot is cast among barbarians. If there be something in the arrangement that jars with the sense of the decorous and appropriate, it is not removed by remembering the connection between the family and the queen's father. But in defence of this, as well as of worse things, there was the hard logic of political necessity. We have the record of the grievance in a letter which, despite the vigilance of the sisters, she was able to write to her mother-in-law, Catherine of Medici, and to send by a trusty messenger who could tell more than the letter.[1] Except, indeed, in what she herself revealed in her acts or her writings, the secret of her prison-house was well kept. In matter of authentic history it is almost an entire blank, although the rumours of the day, and the traditions invented and believed in later times, have thickly peopled it with incidents.

One of these stories imported that her last marriage was not unfruitful; that during her imprisonment she gave birth to a daughter, who was afterwards known as a member of a religious sisterhood in France, the house of Nôtre Dame of Soissons. Though this has been repeated in several shapes, the evidence on which they all rest is traced back to two rather inefficient sources. The one is a casual assertion by a French man of letters who was not born until more than half a century after the escape from Lochleven, so that his story is only to be held as a

[1] Labanoff, ii. 69.

tradition of the seventeenth century.[1] The other item brought to strengthen this is an assertion by Throckmorton, how it was explained to him on behalf of Queen Mary, as her reason for refusing to divorce Bothwell, that she had expectation of offspring of her marriage with him, and she would not do that which might bring in question the legitimacy of her child. He does not tell in what shape this was communicated to him—whether it was by writing or by message. It comes mixed up with the frequent allusions to her frantic determination to adhere to the object of her passion, and it would be easy to suppose that friendly tongues would desire to attribute her determination to such a motive.[2] That a child should have been born

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[1] Following the narrative of the execution at Fotheringay is this passage: "Pour clorre l'histoire de Marie Stuart, après avoir dit qu'ell eut du Comte de Bothuel, son troisième mary, une fille qui fut Religieuse à N. Dame de Soissons; je remarqueray que les beaux esprits du temps de son premier veuvage firent deux Anagrammes sur son nom, au sujet de la mort du Roy François II., son mary, toutes deux très complettes; car dans le nom retourné de Marie Stuart, on trouve, *Tu te marieras*, ce qui arriva, et *Tu as martyre;* et cela ne fut encore que trop veritable."—Mémoires de Michel de Castelnau, additions, i. 648. Had the assertion been made by Castelnau himself, it would have stood on the authority of one who had the confidence of Queen Mary, and was indeed one of her safest friends; but it stands only on the authority of La Laboureur, the editor and continuer of Castelnau's Memoirs; and all the repetition, more or less positive, that has since been given to it, will not strengthen that frail foundation. See the references to these repetitions in Michel, Les Ecossais en France, ii. 66.

[2] The following is the passage: it will be observed that Throckmorton uses the verb "persuade" in the meaning in which we would now use "advise:" "I have also persuaded her to conform herself to renounce Bothwell for her husband, and to be contented to suffer a divorce to pass betwixt them. She hath sent me word that she will in no wise consent unto it, but rather die, grounding herself upon this reason, that taking herself to be seven weeks gone with child, by renouncing Bothwell she should acknowledge herself to be with child of a bastard, and to have forfeited her honour, which she will not do to die for it."—Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 18th July 1567; Stevenson's Selections, 221. This letter is also in Principal Robertson's Appendix, No. xxii. In a letter to Queen Elizabeth, 27th Jan. 1569, Mary says, "Considérez je suis mère et d'un seul enfant."—Labanoff, ii. 288. She had here no motive to commit herself to such an assertion, save to give a touch of pathos to her pleading.

to her in Lochleven, should have been removed to France, and should there have lived to maturity,—that these events should have occurred in that vigilant suspicious age without leaving a vestige of a whisper about them in the correspondence or memoirs of the time, is a thing hard to be believed.

We have seen that a queen's party had been gathering themselves together, and there were many conjectures and rumours as to the method in which they would strike a blow for her release. Besides the island containing the castle, there are others in Lochleven. On one stood the Monastery of St Serf, probably at that time newly deserted —an old house of the Culdees, in which, long subsequent to their day, Wyntoun wrote his Chronicle. It was supposed that if her keepers could be wiled to let her join a hawking-party there, it would be easy for a force with small boats, borne by them to the loch, to carry her off. A bolder design was to bring overland upon waggons from the Firth of Forth vessels sufficient to carry a party to storm the castle. She owed more, however, to the active employment of her own subtle apparatus of fascination among her enemies than to the heroic devotion of her true knights. The rumours of the time are full of uneasy suspicions concerning the fall of one after another of those about her under the witchery of her blandishments. Those that might be deemed farthest removed from doubt were not exempt from it, as, for instance, the old Lady Douglas herself. It is certain that of her family circle one at least was enslaved—her son, George Douglas. What hopes she may have allured him to entertain cannot be known, but the gossip of the day raised them to a dizzy height.[1] Then

[1] Sir William Drury, writing to Cecil on 3d April, and telling what he can gather about a second interview between Murray and the captive, says: "At the first she burdened him with the rigour that was used unto her in this last Parliament; and he answered that he and the rest of the nobility could do nothing less for their wn surety, in respect they had enterprised to put her into captivity. From that she entered into another purpose, being marriage, praying she might have a husband, and named one to her liking—George Douglas, brother to the Laird of Lochleven; unto which the earl replied that

imagination had been so heated by the strange events passing before men's eyes, that a new romance of love and crime was sketched. It had a long vitality. A century afterwards, a certain bold Presbyterian divine, named Robert Douglas, served as chaplain to the Scots troops in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. A mystery hung over his birth and origin, but he was believed to be the grandson of George Douglas and Mary Queen of Scots.[1]

All now really known of the relations of these two while they were within the castle is, that the enslavement of Douglas was so conspicuous as to make his removal necessary. He thus brought his knowledge of affairs within to the aid of those who were laying plans for a rescue from without. It came to the ears of Sir William Drury, while he commanded the garrison at Berwick, that with the aid of Douglas an attempt to escape had been all but successful on the 25th of March. Drury's story has in later times been told in many shapes, all competing with each other in giving a tone of picturesqueness to facts held as undoubted. The only fact we know, however, is that Drury, greedy of every morsel of news from Lochleven that had a chance of being true, thought this worthy of being retailed to Cecil. Hence this only fact cannot be so well told in any other way as in its own words, which make a very clear story :—

"Upon the 25th of the last she enterprised an escape, and was the rather nearer effect through her accustomed long lying in bed all the morning. The manner of it was thus: There cometh in to her laundress early, as at other times, before she was wanted; and the queen, according to such a secret practice, putteth on her the weid of the

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he was over-mean a marriage for her grace."—Keith, ii. 789. This, like many other passages in the letters of the day, can only be counted a piece of current rumour.

[1] Wodrow Analecta, i. 166. Were it worth while, it could be shown that between this tradition and that about Bothwell's offspring, the establishment of the truth of one must of necessity establish the falsity of the other. George Douglas must have been removed on account of his infatuation about the time when the dates would show that Bothwell's daughter was born.

laundress, and so, with the fardel of clothes, and her muffler upon her face, passeth out, and entereth the boat to pass the loch; which after some space, one of them that rowed said, merrily, 'Let us see what manner of dame this is,' and therewith offered to pull down her muffler, which to defend she put up her hands, which they spied to be very fair and white; wherewith they entered into suspicion whom she was, beginning to wonder at her enterprise. Whereat she was little dismayed, but charged them, upon danger of their lives, to row her over to the shore; which they nothing regarded, but eftsoons rowed her back again, promising her that it should be secreted, and especially from the lord of the house under whose guard she lieth. It seemeth she knew her refuge, and where to have found it if she had once landed; for there did and yet do linger at a little village called Kinross, hard at the loch-side, the same George Douglas, one Sempil and one Beaton—the which two were some time her trusty servants, and, as yet appeareth, they mind her no less affection."[1]

George Douglas had left behind him in the castle a trusty assistant. He has been sometimes called "the little Douglas," sometimes "Willy Douglas," or, as Mary wrote it in her French manner, "Volly Douglas." Whether he was of kin to the Lochleven family is not known. He was only eighteen years old. If his youth exempted him from the usual precautions and suspicions, a great blunder was committed; for he was precisely at the age when feats such as his are achieved with greatest facility.[2] He

[1] Keith, ii. 790.

[2] There is evidence that she remembered Willy Douglas, and showed a keen interest in his destiny at a critical juncture to her own. In one of those letters of instruction to her commissioners in England, in which she is wavering and incoherent about the accusations brought against her, she turns suddenly to a rumour that he had been "tint," or lost, after getting a passport from Queen Elizabeth. She vehemently suspects that her rebel subjects have done him wrong, and implores her sister queen to see to his safety, and "that she suffer him not to be treated in that manner in her realm, so near her Court, being under her protection,—wha set us to libertie and saiffit our life, doing the act of ane venturous and faithful subject to his sovereign and nat

managed, unnoticed, to get possession of the chief keys, after the castle had been closed for the night. He then escorted the queen through the gates, locking them as he passed each. He seized one of the boats always at hand, and, as it would appear, had disabled the others. When she touched the shore, she found her lover George Douglas, her faithful follower the Lord Seton, and a few others. All rapidly mounted and rode off. Their first point was the Castle of Niddry, near Linlithgow, belonging to Seton. The distance is, in a straight line, about twenty miles; and what it proved to the riders must have depended on the point at which they were able to cross the Firth. From Niddry she sent a messenger to the Court of England to ask assistance. If he were unsuccessful, he was to go on to Paris and ask it there. Next day the number of followers increased, and all rode to Hamilton Palace, where they might be considered safe from any immediate risk of attack.

An event like this has ever been known in history as the most potent stimulant of a languid party. No summons of array could have carried to every partisan with such instantaneous velocity the command to rise and arm. So speedily did the adherents gather, that their concentration seemed not merely the assembling of a party, but the reaction of a people. Among the chiefs, besides Seton and the Hamiltons, were Herries, Somerville, Argyle, Cassilis, Fleming, Ross, Eglinton, and Rothes. They had soon around them six thousand men in fighting array. Hamilton Palace had the aspect of a Court well guarded by troops. The group received lustre from the presence

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ural princess." She expresses uneasiness about the threats of a certain James Drysdale, a retainer of the family of Lochleven, who "being evil content of the good service whilk the said William did unto us, said, in presence of some of our servants, that if ever he met with him he should put his hands in his heart-blood, whatever might follow thereupon; and as to us, he should give us to the heart with ane whinger; whereupon ye shall solicit our good sister that the said Drysdale be made fast, in consideration of the premises—he knows what is become of the said William."—Labanoff, ii. 264. This will recall some incidents in the 'Abbot,' and show what suggested them to Scott.

of De Baumont, the French ambassador. He had been sent as a person of higher distinction than Lignerolles, and therefore more likely to be well received. He made no better speed with the regency. They refused to give him access to the queen; but now he was happy in attending her without their permission.

Of what passed at Hamilton during the short busy period now begun, many things have unfortunately found their way into history which have no contemporary support.

The opportunity was taken to revoke the queen's abdication, with all the business that had followed upon it. As it happened, all that was thus done at Hamilton passed away in empty words; but had the end been otherwise, the proceedings there would have resolved themselves into formal documents, declaring the nullity of the abdication on the part of the queen, and giving the sanction of her assembled retainers as that of a Parliament, revoking the Acts of the Parliament which had met in January, and pronouncing it an illegal assemblage.

We know farther that two messengers or ambassadors were sent southwards—one to represent Queen Mary at the Court of England, the other to pass through England to France, and there solicit succour to her cause. Murray was then at Glasgow; and we find Cecil receiving information that, immediately on the arrival of the queen and her party, a message was sent to him requiring him to resign his authority to his lawful sovereign, but at the same time informing him that the past would be forgotten, and all who had offended against her would be pardoned. Murray, it appears, sent a message to ascertain whether this proposal really had been authorised by his sister; whether that he had actual doubts on the matter, or merely desired to gain time.[1] His action, however, was prompt. On the day of the arrival at Hamilton, the 3d of May, a proclamation was issued, calling on all the feudatories of the Crown and others to meet him at Glasgow, armed and accoutred according to their feudal duty, stat-

[1] Sir William Drury to Cecil, 7th May 1568; Keith, ii. 804.

ing as a reason that their sovereign's mother had escaped and gathered together certain of his liege subjects at Hamilton; "for what purpose it is uncertain, but, as is supposed, by the convoy and counsel of wicked persons, enemies to his highness and his authority, and all quietness within this realm."[1] He apprehended and imprisoned a pursuivant who came to Glasgow to proclaim the queen, and sent to Stirling for cannon.[2]

Murray's sojourn in Glasgow was for the purpose of presiding at a session of justiciary for the trial of criminals. He had adopted it as a policy of his rigid government to attend the courts and give his high countenance to their administration of justice. In the military sense he was unprotected, and by a dash at Glasgow—only ten miles distant from Hamilton—the regent, and probably a few other persons of importance, might have been easily seized. Had there been any spirit of reaction throughout the country in favour of Mary, a blow that would have at once roused it was the obvious alternative; but the policy adopted—and it seems to have been the only tenable one—was to hold out until assistance came from England or France. In the mean time the group of adherents daily increased. Following up the peculiar national practice, of which we have seen so many instances, they bound themselves to co-operation and support by a bond or band. This document was signed on the 8th of May by nine titular bishops of the old Church, by eighteen lords of Parliament, and by a large body of minor barons and landowners. The bond was in this case peculiar for the earnest terms in which it stipulates that the parties to it shall abandon or compromise their separate objects of contention, and unite in the common cause.[3] In fact, in that assemblage, which appeared to be a compact body of loyal enthusiasts, there was a large element of disunity, or at least of inertness. The Hamiltons, who seemed its soul and centre, were really in that condition which is the most fatal to the achievement of any bold stroke—they

[1] Keith, Appendix, No. xxvi. [2] Drury, *ut sup.*
[3] See the bond in Keith, ii. 807.

had no direct object to strike for. Whatever ended in a firm and permanent government was inimical to their interests. The young king, with Murray as regent, was not a satisfactory prospect; but the re-establishment of the queen was little better. Thus there was a partial paralysis at the head, and there was little of capacity among the more eminent followers to redeem this loss.[1]

There was one place where the escape and the gathering at Hamilton were hailed with great joy—the Court of Queen Elizabeth. The course to be taken, after Throckmorton returned baffled and almost insulted, had reached a climax of difficulties, and now all of them seemed to be solved by the propitious event. It happened that on the 3d of May, the day after the escape, but before it could have been known in London, Cecil had drawn up a sketch of the proper course to be taken by the English Government. It bears in its extreme brevity and distinctness the

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[1] Throckmorton, in a letter to Cecil of 20th August 1567—the same in which he describes the aim, purposes, and resources of the regent—gives us this animated sketch of some members of the other party :—

"As for the Hamiltons and their faction, their conditions be such, their behaviour so inordinate, the most of them so unable, their living so vicious, their fidelity so fickle, their party so weak, as I count it lost whatsoever is bestowed upon them. Shortly you are like to have with you an handsome young man of that surname, named John Hamilton, to procure to set you on fire to get some money amongst them to countenance their doings, which serve little for our purpose. The Lord Herries is the cunning horse-leech, and the wisest of the whole faction ; but, as the Queen of Scotland saith of him, there is nobody can be sure of him : he taketh pleasure to bear all the world in hand. We have good occasion to be well ware of him. Sir, you remember how he handled us when he delivered Dumfries, Caerlaveroc, and the Harmitage unto our hands—he made us believe all should be ours to the Forth ; and when we trusted him best, how he helped to chase us away, I am sure you have not forgotten. Here, amongst his own countrymen, he is noted to be the most cautious man of his nation. It may like you to remember he suffered his own hostages, the hostages of the Lairds of Lochinvar and Garlies, his next neighbours and friends, to be hanged for promise broken by him. This much I speak of him because he is the likelyest and most dangerous man to enchant you."—Stevenson's Selections, 282. John Hamilton, the "handsome young man," is perhaps the adventurous man already mentioned, p. 312.

sense of difficulties that have reached a crisis, and must be conquered by prompt action. It starts with the text that—

"If the French power restore the Queen of Scots, then shall Scotland be more at commandment of the French, and especially of the house of Guise, than ever it was." Thus will England again have for its closest neighbour a kingdom where Popery is the established religion, and the government policy is dictated from France. And the danger of such a consummation is not merely from without. It will stir the adherents of the old religion in England, "whereof it is to be feared that the number is greater than were meet to be known." The remedy is for Elizabeth frankly and effectively to take into her own hand the restoration of Queen Mary, stipulating that no French force is to be permitted to co-operate in the service; and this is followed by practical suggestions for the intercepting of any armament sent from France. One passage is intentionally mysterious, and tempts to grave speculations as to something understood but not expressed: "If neither the Queen of Scots will forbear to take the aid of France, nor France forbear to give it, then it is manifest what were the speedy way to remedy the whole matter, both to relieve the Queen of Scots, and make quietness in Scotland."

The last item in this State paper recalls the spirit of events long past: "Note, it belongeth of very right to the crown of England to give order as to dissensions moved for the crown of Scotland."[1] This was for home consideration, and not to find its way into the diplomatic correspondence with Scotland. It recalled the old claim of superiority. In fact every member of the English Government believed that there lay among the records in the Tower unquestionable evidence of the feudal vassalage of Scotland; and this belief ever—as we have seen and shall yet see—influenced the policy of England, though it was not convenient to reveal it to the other party.

[1] Stevenson's Selections, 304

There seems to have been no hesitation about the course to be adopted after the escape. The heavy task of bringing the Scots to a sense of their duty was greatly lightened, and France must be anticipated in its fulfilment. Thomas Leighton was sent as messenger or ambassador to Queen Mary, with full and hearty instructions. If Queen Mary would accept of her sister's intervention, and agree to be guided by her, without seeking assistance from any foreign power, "she shall then be assured that we will have the principal regard to her state, so as her subjects may be reduced to acknowledge their duties without shedding of blood or trouble of her realm; and if they will not yield to reason by treaty or persuasion, we will give to her such aid as shall be requisite to compel them." There are some persuasive reasons given why the Queen of Scots should concur in the conclusion, that of all the potentates of Europe her neighbour the Queen of England is the one to whom it must naturally and justly fall to interpose, and bring the troubles of Scotland to a happy end; but no hint is dropped about the claim of homage.[1]

The bearer of these instructions did not find the queen to whom he was accredited. Her followers naturally looked around for some stronger position than Hamilton. Dunbar Castle had been acquired by the regent, and the queen's party attempted to regain it, but failed. Dumbarton, held by the Lord Fleming, was the next recourse. It involved a march close by Glasgow; but as the queen's force was the larger of the two, it was resolved to take this risk. The Hamiltons have been blamed for recommending it with a treacherous purpose. It was a critical moment for the regent, but he decided that the best policy was to fight.

The queen's force was estimated at 6000 men, the other at 4500. But Murray had a great preponderance of military capacity. He was himself a tried soldier in the home wars, and had others such to assist him, as Morton, Semple,

[1] See the instructions in Keith, ii. 801. It may be noted that English statesmen were not unanimous in counting the escape a propitious event. Throckmorton especially, who knew Scotland, augured "ill of it."—See correspondence; Teulet, ii. 204 *et seq.*

Home, and Lindsay; further, he had Kirkcaldy of Grange, a leader of European renown, who had fought both at home and abroad. To him the regent confided duties like those of a modern aide-de-camp, with a wider discretion to act on his own judgment. On the 13th of May the queen's army began to march along the south bank of the Clyde towards Dumbarton. On a height about two miles southward from Glasgow stood, and still stands, the village of Langside. A sight of this village, on a stroll from Glasgow, shows that in the question of forcing a passage from Hamilton to Dumbarton, the critical struggle must be here. It seems to have been then, as now, a cluster of houses on either side of the main road where it crosses a hill. We may at once judge that the queen was ill supported by military capacity when the post was not seized and held before she began her journey.

When it was seen from Glasgow that, without any preparation, the queen's party were to pass through the village by the highroad, the tactic of the day was instantly chosen. Kirkcaldy, who commanded the horse, sent two hundred troopers, each with a marksman behind him, through the river. There was a race for this critical spot; but the marksmen gained, and were quickly posted among the houses and behind the walls and fences. The queen's troops, commanded by Argyle, formed on a small hill towards the east of the village. They had with them sixteen cannon; but these seem to have played to no effect, since they could do little harm to the marksmen under cover, and could not reach the main force of the regent's party, which had been drawn up westward of the village. It was determined that the vanguard, led by Lord Arbroath, should try to storm the village and force a passage. The heavy-armed men in the front rank were met by a like body from the regent's army, and a scene characteristic of the warfare of the age followed. The tactic that the game of war is gained by rendering the warrior impregnable in an iron case had reached the height of its completeness and absurdity, and was to give place to the reactionary theory that the first object of all the apparatus of war is the destruction of the enemy. Each line of spears finally

stuck in the angles and joints of the mail of the opposite rank, and the battle was a mere trial of superior weight and pressure. Thus across the path were two walls of iron, with human beings enclosed in each, striving in vain at motion and effective action. They not only could not assail each other, but were a barrier preventing the residue of each army from joining battle. An eyewitness records the frantic efforts of those behind to assail their enemy with broken weapons, stones, and other hand-missiles, and describes how some of these fell and lay on the crossed spears as on a platform.[1] While those behind had no better occupation than this, marks of unsteadiness were observed by the regent's force among those on the queen's side, and Grange charging them, they broke and fled. "There were not many horsemen," says the same eyewitness, "til pursue after them, and the regent cried to save and not slay; and Grange was never cruel, so that there were but a few slain and tain."[2] It was said that three hundred were killed on the losing side, while the other only lost one man. The affair lasted but for three-fourths of an hour. In the number engaged, and the nature of the contest, it was of the character of a mere skirmish; but the conditions in which it was fought rendered it a decisive battle. It settled the fate of Scotland, affected the future of England, and had its influence over all Europe.

The queen, when she saw the fate of the day, galloped off frantically. A second time the exciting events of which she was the centre had broken in upon her self-command. She fled from her friends as well as her enemies so heedlessly, leaving all behind, that it is impossible to identify the course she took; and there are doubts about the place where she first found refuge. She is generally said to have

[1] The order on the regent's side—not easily interpreted with certainty—was "to let the adversaries lay down first their spears, to bear up theirs; while spears were sa thick fixed in others' jacks, that some of the flacons, pistolls, and great staves that were thrown by them that were behind, might be seen lying upon the spears."—Sir James Melville's Memoirs.

[2] Ibid., 202.

ridden straight to Dundrennan Abbey; but that is upwards of a hundred miles from Langside.[1] The author of the Memoirs of Lord Herries says she was accompanied by himself, his son, Lord Livingston, Lord Fleming, George Douglas, and Willy, the hero of the escape, and that "she rode all night, and did not rest until she came to the Sanquhar. From thence she went to Terregles, the Lord Herries's house, where she rested some few days."[2] She said in her appeal to Queen Elizabeth that she rode sixty miles on the first day of her flight; and allowing for indirect roads, it is easy to suppose the journey from Glasgow to Sanquhar prolonged to that distance, according to modern measurement. The journey onwards to Terregles would add other thirty miles at least. It must have been to this journey that she referred, though the context makes her speak of England, in that letter, full of sorrows, to her uncle the cardinal, in which she says she had suffered hunger, cold, and fear; had fled, she knew not whither, fourscore and twelve miles across the country, without once alighting; had slept "sur la dure;" had to drink sour milk, and feed on oaten meal; and had been three nights like the owls.[3] She resolved to pass over to England. Whether this was under or against the advice she received, or whether she received any, cannot be determined. Herries, we know, was with her; for he wrote, announcing her intention, to the deputy-captain of Carlisle, desiring to know whether, if the Queen of Scots might seek refuge in England, she could safely go to that fortress. The astounded deputy, explaining that his principal was at Court, answered that this was too high a question for him to determine, but he would send first to Court for instructions; and if the queen came, he would meet her, and protect her until he received further instructions from Court. But before even the deputy's provisional answer could be received she had gone. On the 16th she

[1] In Labanoff's Collection there is a letter to Queen Elizabeth dated "De Dundrennan, 15 May 1568" (ii. 71); but it is taken from a printed collection of the seventeenth century, and its authority may be doubted.

[2] P. 103.

[3] Labanoff, ii. 118.

embarked in an open fishing-boat, with Herries and some eighteen or twenty other "persons"—they are not called attendants—and landed on the same day at Workington, in Cumberland.[1]

Much eloquence has been expended in denouncing this flight into England as an act of consummate folly. But it was one of those occasions in which reasoning plays no part. It was the occasion of a hunted creature seeking immediate safety, and finding it at the nearest available point without any weighing of future results. A common impression has found its way into history, that there was a popular reaction in her favour; but this lacks evidence. Her flight, both in its first stage from Lochleven to Hamilton, and thence to the Solway, was in its character the flight of one ever surrounded by enemies. There was no refuge save where the feudal influence of her attendant Herries procured it. No doubt the news of her escape gave a powerful impulse to her friends; but it does not follow that it converted her enemies. It has been said, and repeated in later histories, that many passed over from the regent's to the queen's party while they were gathering round Hamilton; but we have no contemporary authority naming those who did so. We have the names of the "nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and others," including about a hundred lairds or lesser barons, who signed the "band" for the queen at Hamilton; and if there were signal deserters among them, they might be identified. All the bishops are on the list except some who had gone abroad, and the Bishop of Orkney, who had become Protestant. They were in their natural place as the spiritual champions of the holy Catholic Church. Among these the only one requiring to be specially accounted for is the Bishop of Galloway, who professed to join the new Church, but did not receive so welcome a reception within it as he desired.[2] Among the lords, the name that one would least expect to find in such a group is that of Argyle, familiar in association and co-operation with Murray, Morton, and Lethington; but he had parted

[1] Cecil's Narrative; Anderson, iv. 1. [2] See above, ch. xlix.

company with his allies on the question of the queen's imprisonment. Others—such as Cassilis, Boyd, Eglinton, Montrose, and Caithness—are to be found among those who united to release the queen from Bothwell, and bring the murderers of her husband to justice; but the deposition and imprisonment of the queen, whether secretly contemplated or not, were not then among the projects openly avowed.[1]

On the prevailing powers of Scotland she had no more hold than at the time when it was hard work for the more moderate among them to save her life. That was a policy not to be repeated. They thought they had her securely in bonds both moral and practical; but she had burst through all, and proved that there was no safety to her enemies while she lived. She had taken that awful position in which she must crush her enemies or they must crush her. When her friends gathered round her at Hamilton, her chance lay in holding out until succour came from England—still better should it come from France. But as the game had gone, there was nothing for her in Scotland but an ignominious death. She had reason to expect a good reception from Queen Elizabeth, and had she entered English soil in a different fashion, her expectations might have had a secure foundation. It was among the instructions to the messenger whom Mary never received, that he should convey to Murray and his friends a request, approaching in its terms to a command, that both parties should be "advised and ruled" by her "in all matters stirred up betwixt the queen and them;" and to tell both parties that in the mean time she thought good "that all force do cease on both parts, and no new collection of power." With these

[1] The leading parties to the band for the queen, besides the Hamiltons, were the Lords of Argyle, Huntly, Eglinton, Seton, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, Fleming, Livingston, Boyd, Somerville, Herries, Ross, Ogilvie, Oliphant, Borthwick, Sanquhar, Yester, Drummond, Elphinston, and Sinclair, with the Lairds of Lochinvar, Johnston, Wemyss, Dalhousie, Ferniehurst, Closeburn, Traquair, Balweary, Clackmannan, Banff, Haddo, and Rowallan.

conditions accepted, Queen Mary might have been welcome in England as a refugee seeking safety until her sister had established an armed force in Scotland sufficient to carry out the arrangement that seemed good to her.

It was destined that this was not the shape she was to take as a refugee; but such as it was, there was no choice. What might have been effected by a more deliberate retreat—if she had not lost head and fled outright—it is hard to say; but, unprotected on the Border, her one chance of immediate safety to her life was to get within English ground.

If we ask what other refuge was open, the first to suggest itself is France. But there is reason to doubt whether any one acquainted with affairs at the time would have pronounced that a safer alternative, presuming it to be in the emergency attainable. No doubt it was still one of the cherished policies of the French Court to seize the first opportunity for re-establishing the old influence in Scotland, and so bridling England from the north. But if France would have then sent an army to help the queen in a struggle with her rebellious subjects, and suppressed England's project of doing the like, this was something very different from the reception of a fugitive who had been driven from her throne by a triumphant party, from which she fled for bare life with the blot of infamous crimes on her name. There was but little zeal for her cause in the Court of France; while, on the other hand, there was the fixed hatred of that miracle of craft and cruelty, Catherine of Medici. She was again supreme in France, and the headlong ferocity of her son was led to politic ends by her subtler intelligence. She was in friendly communication with Elizabeth, and had not yet revealed the great secret whether she was to be the friend or enemy of the Huguenots. With this woman, Mary, at the climax of her career, when she was Quee of France as well as Scotland, had a hard game to play. What chance had she now?[1]

[1] There are two letters of Catherine at this time, containing inqui-

Could she have fled to Spain, a scene of another kind might have opened. There she would have found a monarch who, if it be possible, was more earnest than herself in reverence for the doctrine, that the one object, both for the sake of this world and the next, to which a Christian sovereign should be devoted, was the restoration of the old Church to its power and splendour. The possibilities that such a conjuncture might have opened are so interesting that they can hardly be passed in silence. Might not an impulse have been given to his sluggish nature, so that the great blow he was to strike in England might have been earlier and more aptly timed? There was no room, it is true, for the revival of the old matrimonial project between Mary and Don Carlos, which Catherine of Medici had wrought so hard to defeat. The poor mad youth was at the crisis of his tragic fate. It was about six weeks after her escape that, if we are to accept what we are now told, his throat was cut in the Escurial, not by assassins, but by the ministers of Spanish justice. But presently there was to be another opening. Within six months after this crisis in Mary's fate, her sister-in-law, Isabella of France, the Queen of Spain, died. She also became the tragic heroine of a romance of love and crime; but history gradually dropped the dark suspicions on her name, and left them to the world of fiction. Though the daughter of the terrible Catherine, she left the reputation of a faithful wife and a gentle queen. Among those who cherished the memory of her virtues, they were enhanced by the fervency with which on her deathbed she expressed her thankfulness in being the partner of one whom no deceptious frailties of mercy or remorse had ever checked in the sacred task of extirpating heresy. To such views Mary was one who would have given support quite as sincere and far more active. Indeed, just before the Queen of Spain's death, the two had been holding some genial correspondence, in which

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ries about the escape and the other incidents; but the writer shows much more anxiety for the possession of some of her daughter-in-law's pearls than the safety of their owner.—Teulet, ii. 217.

the restoration of the Church was put foremost of human duties. At that time Philip was not yet forty-two years old, and though he had been three times married, the son destined to succeed him had not yet been born. If it be said that these speculations on the possible consequences of events that never came to pass are away from the purpose of history, it may be pleaded that they deserve a passing notice, since they were contingencies which both the thinking and the acting men of the times must have studied. There was nothing in the possible future of Mary's relations with France and Spain that did not then affect the present in Scotland, and in England too.

The fugitive queen was received on English soil with quiet decorum. The rumour of an unexpected arrival from Scotland brought some Cumbrian gentlemen to the landing-place. When they found how illustrious a person their visitor was, they formed themselves into an escort, and attended her to Cockermouth. The news passing on to the deputy-captain of Carlisle, who, as we have seen, had some warning of her intention, he called together the gentlemen of the district, and a large body assembled to escort her to Carlisle.

Whether it was the assurance of safety from immediate pursuit, or relief given by repose and quietness to an excited frame, it is certain that she was speedily herself again. She sailed from Scotland on the 16th of May, and the 17th is the date of a letter written by her to Queen Elizabeth—a letter of great length and full of matter. A small portion of it contains the account already cited of the hardships of her escape; but this is briefly told at the end, and after a narrative of events to which it comes as a conclusion, because the events so narrated were the causes leading to that step. It would be only again to go over the history of Scotland since the death of Darnley, were we to give the tenor of this letter, with a commentary on the narrative it contains. It must suffice to say that no one who has followed its author's career can well read it through without high admiration of the concise clearness of the narrative, and her persuasive skill in stating the points of her case. Her condition was pitiable,

she said, not only for a queen, but an ordinary gentlewoman. She had undergone the hardships already told; and there was no change of raiment, nothing but the clothing in which she had escaped from the field of battle.[1] It was by no means in this alone that she showed the elastic vitality of her nature—its restorative capacity for suddenly rising in full life and force out of absolute prostration. She found an opportunity for the exercise of her allurements, and promptly seized it. While in Carlisle she was allowed unrestricted intercourse with her own people of Scotland; and the throng of followers was so considerable as to excite uneasiness in Scrope, the governor, who suggested that if this unrestricted visiting were to continue, it would be well to remove the refugee farther from the Border. In a town so close to the frontier, the continued resort was "not without some danger, or at least not without opinion of lack of consideration."[2] But he and others felt more serious ground of alarm, in looking back on the opportunities she had seized, immediately on her arrival and before precautions had been taken, for exchanging civilities with the Romanist gentlemen in the north. The opportunity was slight, but Queen Elizabeth's emissaries saw that it had been used to effect.[3] She afterwards boasted to her sister-in-law the Queen of Spain how she had seen so much of the spirit animating the adherents of the old Church in England, that had she but a little assistance she would make it supreme, and teach Elizabeth a lesson in the game of encouraging subjects to rise against their sovereign.[4] And in estimating the story

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[1] Labanoff, ii. 73.

[2] Anderson, iv. 5.

[3] "It behoves your highness, in mine opinion, gravely to consider what answer is to be made herein, especially because that many gentlemen of divers shires here near adjoining within your realm have heard her daily defences and excuses of her innocency, with her great accusations of her enemies, very eloquently told before our coming hither." —Scrope and Knollys's first report; Anderson, iv. 56.

[4] "J'ay tant apris de l'estat issi que, si j'avois tant soit peu d'espérance de secours d'ailleurs, je métroys la religion subs, ou je mourois en la poyne. Tout ce quartier issi est entièrement dédié à la foy catolique, et pour ce respect, et du droit que j'ay issi à moy, peu de chose aprandroit cette Royne à s'entremétre d'ayder aux subjects con-

of severity and restraint that is to come, it should be remembered that what control she was as yet subject to did not prevent her from fostering such projects and boastfully announcing them to her friends. We can see in the letters and reports of Sir Francis Knollys traces that his allegiance as a servant of his kinswoman Queen Elizabeth, and his duty as a stern soldier, had been sorely tried by the blandishments of the refugee. He saw much of her when there were few others to occupy her attention. He undertook the interesting duty of teaching her the English language. She afterwards called him her "good schoolmaster," and rewarded him with the first letter written by her in English. She states that as an excuse for its imperfections; and it is the earliest specimen of a complete letter from her pen in any British Saxon tongue. It is thoroughly becoming in its tone, with kindly inquiries after the Lady Knollys, and hints about a token to be sent to her.[1]

Knollys arrived at Carlisle on the 28th of May, along with Scrope, the governor, with whom he appears to have been associated as an apt adviser. They record their first interview with her held on that day. She had demanded that she should be brought as a visitor to the

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tre les princes. Elle en est en si grande jalousie que cela, et non aultre chose, me fera remêtre en mon pays."—Labanoff, ii. 185. The last sentence shows how Mary had sounded the depths of Queen Elizabeth's notions of divine right. Her sister's horror of the doctrine that anything could justify subjects in rising against their sovereign was the one hold she had upon Elizabeth's sympathy.

[1] "And ze send oni to zour wiff, ze mey asur her schu wald a bin weilcom to a pur strenger hua nocht bien acquentet vth her, wil nocht be ouuer bald to vreit bot for the aquentans betouix ous. Y wil send zou letle tekne to rember zou off the gud hop y heuu in zou, guef ze sendt a mit mesager. Y wald wysh ze bestouded it reder upon her non ani vder."—Ellis's Letters, ii. 253, 254; Labanoff, ii. 173. This was written on 1st September 1568. Afterwards, on the 26th of February, with White, who reported to Cecil, on a visit to Queen Mary, she held sorrowful discourse about the recent death of the Lady Knollys, a calamity brought home to her by the remark of the writer that "the long absence of her husband," in his attendance on Queen Mary, "did greatly further her end." It was on this occasion that she spoke of Knollys as her "good schoolmaster."—Haynes's State Papers, 510.

Queen of England, and they had the unpleasant duty of telling her that in the mean time this could not be, and the still more unpleasant duty of telling her how it was so. The Queen of England could not receive her so honourably as her "desirous affection and goodwill towards her did wish, until her highness might be well instructed and satisfied by probable reasons that she was clear and innocent of the said murder" of her husband. They had further to declare their mistress's "sorrowfulness for her lamentable misadventure and inconvenient arrival," and at the same time to express "how glad and joyful" her highness felt "of her good escape from the peril of her person, with many circumstances thereunto belonging."

Through the dry narrative of these cautious officers we can see, in the reception of their disagreeable message, the consummate powers on which the fugitive drew to make the best of the conditions: "We found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue and a discreet head; and it seemeth by her doings that she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto. And after our delivery of your highness' letters she fell into some passion, with the water in her eyes; and therewith she drew us with her into her bedchamber, where she complained to us for that your highness did not answer her expectations for the admitting her into your presence forthwith; that upon good declaration of her innocency, your highness would either without delay give her aid yourself to the subjecting of her enemies, or else, being now come of goodwill and not of necessity into your highness' hands —for a good and greatest part of her subjects, said she, do remain fast unto her still—your highness would at the least forthwith give her passage through your country into France, to seek aid at other princes' hands, not doubting but both the French king and the King of Spain would give her redress on that behalf to her satisfaction."[1] That she made a distinct impression on Knollys, we may read in a recommendation in which Scrope did not participate. Referring to the merits of her case, and the popular feel-

[1] Anderson, iv. 54.

ing in her favour in the north of England, "and therefore," he says, "I, the vice-chamberlain, do refer to your highness' better consideration, whether it were not honourable for you, in the sight of your subjects, and of all foreign princes, to put her grace to the choice, whether she will depart freely back into her country without your highness' impeachment [*i.e.*, hindrance], or whether she will remain at your highness' devotion within your realm here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her, to see how honourably your highness can do for her; for this means your highness, I think, shall stop the mouths of backbiters, that otherwise would blow out seditious rumour, as well in your own realm as elsewhere, of detaining her ungratefully."[1]

This suggestion is in keeping with the man's frank character. It is perceptible that, like others, he had little doubt that his fascinating captive was a murderess. In the midst of his admiration he renders another morsel of blunt, honest advice to the chief counsellor of his mistress: "If the spots in this queen's coat be manifest, the plainer and sooner that her highness doth reveal her discontentation therewith the more honourable it will be, I suppose; and it is the readiest way to stop the mouths of factious, murmuring subjects."[2]

This follows on a burst of admiration more like a tribute bestowed by one brave, ambitious man on another, than a homage to the qualities of a fascinating princess: "This lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonial honour beside the acknowledging of her estate royal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies. She showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory. She desireth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, commending by name all approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies; and she concealeth no cowardice even in her friends. The thing that most she striveth after is victory; and it seemeth

[1] Anderson, iv. 56. [2] Ibid., 72.

indifferent to her to have her enemies diminished either by the sword of her friends or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse—or by divisions and quarrels raised among themselves—so that for victory's sake pain and peril seemeth pleasant unto her; and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptible and vile."

Not less remarkable than this description of his captive's temper is the moral he draws from it: "Now what is to be done with such a lady and prince, or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom, or whether it be good to hold and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment."[1] Congenial with these simple but expressive touches of character are the remarks of another who saw and conversed with her a few months later. He, too, writes his impressions to Cecil, and his thorough admiration of the captive's powers is certainly not neutralised by his somewhat clumsy disclamations of any derogation from the superior merits of his own mistress: "If I, which in the sight of God bear the queen's majesty a natural love beside my bounden duty, might give advice, there should very few subjects in this land have access to or conference with this lady. For beside that she is a goodly personage (and yet, in truth, not comparable to our sovereign), she hath withal an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish speech, and a searching wit clouded with mildness. Fame might move some to relieve her, and glory joined to gain might stir others to adventure much for her sake."[2]

Such still remain among the casual notices imparted to Cecil, on whom they can have had no reassuring influence. Yet we can believe that doubts which crossed the mind of the casual visitor would contribute but a drop to the vast sea of difficulties that seemed to gather round the subtle

[1] Anderson, iv. 72.

[2] N. White to Cecil; Haynes's State Papers, 511. The writer says, —"In looking upon her cloth of estate, I noticed the sentence embroidered, 'En ma fin est mon commencement,' which is a riddle I undertake not." He noticed also that "her hair of itself is black, and yet Mr Knollys told me that she wears hair of sundry colours."

statesman, whose eye looked so much farther into the coming possibilities. In fact it is visible in the papers of the time that the last event struck the Court of Elizabeth with immediate consternation, followed by darkened and confused counsels. Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven seemed likely to inaugur the solution of a great difficulty, but her defeat and flight threw all back into more insoluble perplexity. In whatever direction Cecil varied the probable path of events, he ever ended in a precipice. We have the spirit of his perplexed thoughts in a paper called "Things to be considered upon the Scottish queen's coming into England." Looking to the several probable conclusions, each in its turn, he sees in none of them success—each has merely dangers to be encountered; and the question is, Which has the fewest? We have first, "danger if the Queen of Scots should pass into France;" next, "danger if the Scottish queen do remain in England;" and third, "danger if she should return into Scotland to rule as she did."[1] He expressed the full perplexity of the situation in brief familiar terms when writing to Norris, the English ambassador in France, how that all were "much troubled with the difficulties, finding neither her continuance here good, nor her departing hence quiet for us."[2]

Europe was filled with rumours that the crisis had now come, and that it was determined to strike the great blow —the blow that was to rid the Church of the pestilent heresy that domineered in England and was struggling for existence in the Spanish Netherlands. Norris told how a Huguenot statesman with much mystery had wiled him to a secluded corner furth of Paris, and there, beyond the reach of spial or interruption, he recommended the ambassador to advertise Cecil "that the queen's majesty did hold the wolf that would devour her; and that it is conspired betwixt the King of Spain, the Pope, and the French king, that the queen's majesty should be destroyed, whereby the Queen of Scots might succeed her majesty." The ambassador is put on the track of an Italian who

[1] Anderson, iv. 34 *et seq.* [2] Cabala, 149.

conducts communications between Spain and the Romanist party in England, and is informed of other details too obscure to be now realised. He puts it to Cecil's superior wisdom what is most expedient "both to the preservation of her majesty and well of the country;" while he says for himself, "Of God, I would wish that the Queen of Scots were rather redelivered, than the queen's majesty to stand in these perilous terms both at home and abroad."[1] But it was natural that others should not concur in the policy of immediately letting loose the wolf. It was, indeed, for English statesmen, a reign of terror in the true sense of the term—that terror of danger from without which drives men to harsh and cruel remedies within. Queen Mary's fate, if the strange course of events and her own strange dealing with them are to be so termed, had made her an incarnate peril. She was dangerous wherever she dwelt or whithersoever she went. It was dangerous alike to do anything with her or leave anything undone. Her position was that awful one so well expressed in the brief passage between the prison and the grave of kings.

Enough of her correspondence during this critical period survives to prove that she vigorously pressed on the Court of France for help. She commissioned the Lord Fleming as her ambassador there; and she wrote to her brother-in-law Charles IX., to her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, even to her personal enemy Catherine of Medici. If they came forth as they should, and proclaimed that she, an anointed queen closely allied to them by family ties, was not to be driven from her throne by rebels, her enemies would be paralysed and her legitimate rule restored. They must send men and money. It was especially necessary to reinforce the loyal garrison of Dumbarton, and to recover the other royal fortresses. She appealed loudly to the compassion of her friends. Her faithful people were slaughtered; she was herself a close prisoner, and treated with such sordid inhumanity that she was in want of food and clothing. Otherwise her letters are full of business and sagacity. On one point a

[1] Haynes's State Papers, 466.

truth is touched which may well have gone home to the hearts of the French Court. She refers to the community of interest between her own rebels and those of France—between the Protestant party in Scotland and the French Huguenots. She was quite right in her appreciation of this formidable conjuncture—it was a source of danger in France, it brought ruin on herself.[1]

Besides these examples of her private correspondence, we possess a solemn memorial of some length, prepared for the purpose of bringing Queen Mary's case before the principal Courts of Europe.[2] It might be hard to say how far it is an inspiration of her own; but it is so entirely a personal pleading, and is so bold in its assertions, that we cannot suppose it to have been circulated without consultation with her. It is an able and powerful document. It needs only that the mind runs over the successive strange events of her short reign to see how easily the story could be told so as to make her character in it solely that of the victim to the vile machinations of others. From the very beginning, while he was yet a youth, her bastard brother laid his plans of usurpation. He steadily pursued his end while his confiding sister was loading him with benefits. Three times he had attempted to seize her, and each time had been pardoned. At last he was successful through an act of double villainy. He and his accomplices murdered her husband under conditions which enabled them plausibly to charge her with the crime. They then dealt with Bothwell. He became one of their instruments, and under the pretext that the country called him to be her husband, he was allowed to abduct her and keep her in durance. It was then that, under the pretence of delivering her, they got her in their power. It may be noted that nothing is said of the marriage—she is entirely a captive princess in the hands of ruffians, and subject to their brutality.

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[1] Labanoff, ii. 85 *et seq.*

[2] "Mémoire addressé au nom de Marie Stuart à tous les princes de la Chrétienté;" Teulet, ii. 241. An Italian version found at Florence was printed by Labanoff (vii. 313). M. Teulet says, "Ce mémoire fut rédigé par les ordres de Marie Stuart à Carlisle en Juin 1568."

Throughout this document charges of heresy and apostasy accompany the charges of rebellion and treachery. From the beginning her base brother had found in the heretical enemies of the Church the proper tool of his machinations, and a close alliance between them grew and strengthened. Hence the cause of the persecuted queen was also the cause of the outraged Church, and all the Church's friends were bound to strive for her restoration and the condign punishment of her enemies. It was natural that the cause of the Church, if it could with prudence be introduced, should be a feature in such a document, as it was from the Catholic sovereigns only that aid could have been expected. But the vehement eloquence with which the cause is pleaded, and the distinct terms in which it is laid down that the cause of Mary Queen of Scots is the cause of the true Church, show that Herries and her other Protestant champions can have had no voice in the preparation of this document. We may even believe that it must have been carefully concealed from them. Its language is inspired by the ardent Catholic zeal of her in whose name it went forth. It may be imagined that such a paper would have produced a deep sensation throughout the Catholic world, if it had not been that the minds of all men likely to hear of passing events in a country so distant, were at the time impressed with the belief that the Queen of Scots was the murderer of her husband.

All the while she thus appealed to foreign powers she was pouring letter after letter in upon Queen Elizabeth, beseeching, wailing, and remonstrating. She appealed to the courtesies and kindnesses that had passed between them, to their ties of kindred and their common ancestry, to their divine destiny as sovereign princes anointed and set apart to rule over their fellow-creatures, and bound, not only by a sacred duty, but by a community of interest, to protect each other from the machinations of traitorous subjects. Descending from these lofty parallels, she brought her claim down to the level of their common womanhood. She was in straits and peril; she had endured memorable hardships; she had borne

hunger and thirst, and was destitute of the comforts, even the decencies, of life; she was yet dressed in the same clothing in which she had fled for her life. Was it the part of her sister, sitting serene in her own royal state, not merely to restrain her hand from helping, but actually to supply the remaining drop to her bitter cup by the misery of strait captivity? The reader of these letters, if he recalls all that had occurred in Scotland in the past three years, and remembers the position of these two women towards each other, can hardly escape the conviction that they form one of the most wonderful specimens of eloquent and pathetic pleading to be found in literature.[1] Underneath all this pathos and eloquence, too, there are subtle touches of flattery, and acute appeals to policy and expediency. At one point there is a strange and significant hint, as if the writer, could she but get access to her sister, could reveal to her something immediately touching her personal safety. Why should her sister play the part of the deaf adder? If Cæsar had not disdained a warning he might not have fallen. Why are the ears of princes closed when they are commonly represented as far-reaching, so that they may hear all and be prepared for all occasions?[2] This personal meeting was the chief immediate object of all her entreaties. All would be well if they could meet alone and unbosom their princely hearts to each other, uninterrupted and uninfluenced by

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[1] Labanoff, ii. 71 *et seq.*

[2] "Si César n'eust dédaigné d'écouter ou lire la plainte d'un avertisseur il n'eust succombé. Pourquoy doivent les oreilles des princes être bouchées, puisque l'on les paint si longues? signifiant qu'ils doivent tout ouyer et bien penser avant que respondre."—Labanoff, ii. 134.

Are we to count it the same hint in another form when Herries, her representative at the Court of Elizabeth, intimated that "if she might come personally to her majesty, then she would show that to her majesty that she had to say;" adding, "that she would also therein say that which she never yet had uttered to any creature"?—Anderson, iv. 18. Again, in the report of Elizabeth's messenger Middlemore, who visited her at Carlisle, when she complains of Elizabeth's refusal to see her: "I would and did mean to have uttered such matters unto her as I would have done to no other, nor never yet did to any."—Ibid., 87.

the common order of politicians, whose place it is to minister to their supreme will, but not to forecast its aims. Among devout believers in the unfathomable wisdom of Queen Elizabeth it may excite a smile to notice the dreams which the fugitive indulged in as to the issue of such a meeting. It is evident that she believed she could bend her rival to her will. With her natural abilities, and her training in the very centre of the social refinement and diplomatic policy of the day, it seemed an easy matter to prevail on one who, though a cultivated scholar, and a clever, self-willed woman, was yet in the game of Court intrigue to be counted but a mere provincial. Indeed, if we can believe that Mary opened her heart to her sister-in-law of Spain, the vistas of the future which the accomplishment of a meeting with Elizabeth opened up to her can only be called amazing. The Queen of England might naturalise and adopt her son; but that would be no pleasing prospect, since he would be trained in the prevailing heresy and lost to the Church. But, on the other hand, if she and Elizabeth could come to a proper understanding, he might be trained in the true faith, succeed to the broad heritage of his race, and strengthen the great cause by a union of the King of Britain with a daughter of Spain. One would think that the first step to such a sequence of events must have been the conversion of Elizabeth to the true faith.[1] Mary had, as we have seen, on one memorable instance over-estimated the power of her apparatus of fascinations. When she tried them upon the stern ecclesiastical champion, she found them utterly insufficient to shake his obedience to the ordinances which he believed to embody the direct commands of a higher power. Whether she would have been more successful with one whose opinions were fortified more by policy and self-importance than by religious fanaticism, the world has no opportunity of knowing. The appeal was ever steadily refused, on the ground that the Queen of Scots must

[1] Labanoff, ii. 186. The terms are dubious, and it is open to every reader to draw from them, if he so can, a different conclusion from this.

cleanse herself from the foul stains on her reputation before the two could meet as sister queens; and so Mary had to take what solace she could from the opinion that Queen Elizabeth's minions combined to exclude her from fear of the influence she would have over their mistress if a meeting between them were permitted.[1]

All things considered, it was found to be, justly or unjustly, the prudent course to avoid an immediate decision as to the ultimate disposal of the refugee, and to retain her, as far as might be, in the position in which she had placed herself. One step was necessary, however, and that could not be taken without some approach to an active policy. If she were to be held in restraint, Carlisle was so near her own country that any day might bring some fresh astounding change in the eventful drama of which she was the heroine. Knollys feared that one so lithe and active might escape by such cords and drapery as the furniture of her apartment could supply.[2] Besides

[1] The conditions under which the expectations above referred to are to be realised are "estant en mon pays et en amitié avèques ceste royne, que les siennes ne veullent permettre me veoir de peur que je la remète en meilleur chemin, car ils ont ceste opinion que je le gouvernerois, lui complésant."—Labanoff, ii. 186.

[2] Anderson, iv. 57. Writing after she had been removed to a safer place, Knollys says, about the anxieties and difficulties at Carlisle: "The band was divided into five partes, so that the watche and wards came about every fifth nyght and every fifth daye, of the which watche and wards we had five governors. The first was Mr Reade, and Wyllyam Knollys for his learning accompanied hym; the second was Mr Morton; the third was Mr Wylford; the fourth was Barrett, Mr Reade's lieutenant; and the fifth was Weste, his ansygne-bearer, a very sufficient and carefull man also. This quene's chamber at Carlyll had a wyndow lokyng out towardes Skotland, the barrs whereof being filed asonder, out of the same she myght have ben lett downe, and then she had playne grounds before her to pass into Skotland. But nere unto the same wyndow we founde an old postern doore, that was dammed upp with a ramper of earth of the inner syde, of twenty foot broade and thirty foot deepe, betweene two walls; for the comoditie of which postern for our sallie to that wyndow wyth readye watche and warde, we dyd cutt into that rampier in forme of stayre, with a turning aboute downe to the seyde postern, and so opened the same, without the which devise we coulde not have watched and warded this quene there so safely as we dyd. Although there was another wyndow of her chamber for passing into an orchard within

the small body of servants and attendants who resided with her in the castle, several Scotsmen living in Carlisle attended her as she rode out, and formed a considerable retinue. And "once," as Knollys says, "she rode out a-hunting the hare, she galloping so fast upon every occasion, and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we, upon experience thereof, doubting that upon a set course some of her friends out of Scotland might invade and assault us upon the sudden for to rescue and take her from us." To obviate this danger he came to the politic conclusion that she must excuse her protectors if they should refuse to countenance "such riding pastimes," as they created anxiety lest they should end in "the endangering of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies."[1] To other causes of anxiety were added some suspicions about the intentions of Northumberland and several of his neighbours, all, like himself, "unsound in religion." It was ostensibly a question of etiquette whether he, as the feudal potentate of the district, was not bound in loyalty and courtesy to take on himself the especial protection of the royal fugitive; but he was so severely checked and heartily rated for his obtrusiveness on the occasion, as to show that deeper motives than an obedience to the rules of etiquette were supposed to govern him.[2]

On the 14th of July she was removed to Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire, a possession of the Lord Scrope. There was here a distinct act, in which she was disposed of contrary to her will. But action had become necessary, and this was a choice among difficulties. To be permitted to return to Scotland was not her own desire—it would have been certain destruction. Either she must be sent to France, or to Scotland with an army to enforce her claims. A little petulant outbreak described by Knollys thoroughly harmonises with her position and natural expectations: "'I will require the queen my good sister that either she

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the towne wall, and so to have slipped over the towne wall, that was very dangerous."—Wright's Queen Elizabeth, i. 290, 291.

[1] Wright's Queen Elizabeth, i. 284. [2] Ibid., i. 272 *et seq.*

will let me go into France, or that she will put me into Dumbarton, unless she will hold me as a prisoner; for I am sure,' sayeth she, 'that her highness will not of her honour put me into my Lord of Murray's hands.' Hereby we might gather that although she would be put into Dumbarton, that she dare not well go thither of herself if she were at liberty; and, saith she, 'I will seek aid forthwith at other princes' hands that will help me—namely, the French king and the King of Spain—whatsoever come of me, because I have promised my people to give them aid by August.'" The little scene closes thus: "'And,' saith she, 'I have made great wars in Scotland, and I pray God I make no troubles in other realms also;' and parting from us, she said that if we did detain her as a prisoner we should have much ado with her." [1]

The removal was managed with decorum. Both parties understood each other; and Queen Mary, having no choice but compliance, ostensibly concurred in the propriety of a change of residence, and was escorted to her new home with all available ceremonial. The change was a great relief to Knollys, whose last anxiety was about the journey. He had the satisfaction of reporting that "there hath been no repair unto her by the way, as might have been looked for;" and the structure of the new prison was eminently satisfactory: "This house appeareth to be very strong, very fair, and very stately, after the old manner of building; and is the highest-walled house that I have seen, and hath but one entrance thereinto; and half the number of these soldiers may better watch and ward the same than the whole number thereof could do at Carlisle Castle." [2]

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[1] Wright's Queen Elizabeth, i. 286. [2] Ibid., 290.

CHAPTER LI.

REGENCY OF MURRAY.

(Continued.)

THE EFFECT ON THE COURT OF ENGLAND—FLEMING, HERRIES, AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR THERE—THE QUESTION OF MARY GOING TO FRANCE—THE QUESTION OF A PERSONAL INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE QUEENS—THE MISSION OF MIDDLEMORE—HOW RECEIVED BY QUEEN MARY—HOW IN SCOTLAND—THE CASKET LETTERS—FEELING THE WAY TO THE RESULT IF THE CHARGES PROVED—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DIVINE RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNS, AND REPUDIATION OF THE POWER OF SUBJECTS TO QUESTION THEIR ACTS—CONFLICT WITH QUEEN MARY'S PRETENSIONS TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND—THE LATENT QUESTION OF THE SUPERIORITY OF THE CROWN OF ENGLAND—QUEEN MARY'S DIPLOMATICS—HER PROFESSION OF AN INCLINATION TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—HER ABSOLUTE DEVOTION TO THE OLD CHURCH—THE DISCUSSIONS TO BE CONDUCTED AT YORK—THE THREE COMMISSIONS—THE EXTERNAL POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF THE INQUIRY.

Let us now turn aside from the fugitive and her personal adventures, to look at a train of transactions of a different character. They are to be found in materials more like a lawsuit, than a romance with a wandering princess for its heroine; but they are full of matter bearing on the facts and spirit of the history of the time, and on the character and conduct of those who acted in it.

Directly after her flight, Queen Mary had sent two of her faithful followers to represent her interests at the Court of Elizabeth—the Lord Fleming and the Lord Herries. Fleming's object was stated to be, to pass from England to France to inform the French king of Queen Mary's

arrival in England, "and to thank him for his offers made to her, and to move him to send no succours into Scotland as beforetime she had solicited." He was told that there was no necessity for such a mission. De Beaumont, the ambassador from France, who had rendered court to Mary at Hamilton, had just returned after having seen all. The French Government were well aware that she had gone to England ; and as to the plea that it was desirable to warn France not to send any forces to Scotland, that was a matter in which the Queen of England was as deeply interested as her sister ; but the English Government felt no anxiety.

There was thus no reason why Fleming should go to France. It is clear that if Queen Mary could have sent a messenger to France in any other manner, she would not have appealed to her sister's aid. Fleming felt the object of his mission to be so important that he still pressed for a safe-conduct to France. He was met by some touches of diplomatic sarcasm ; but enough was let out to show him that there were formidable suspicions about the nature of the real object of sending to the Court of France one who had at his disposal a strong fortress commanding one of the chief sea-gates of Scotland : "The common opinion was well known that his special errand, he being Captain of Dumbarton, was to fetch Frenchmen by sea to Scotland, whereof the world, by former certain experience, might well judge what great troubles might ensue fit for England to regard." True, the Queen of England was not afraid of any actual mischief from his negotiations ; but "she desired not to be thought in the judgment of the world improvident, how improvident soever she might be indeed." So Fleming was desired to abandon his mission if "he meant to avoid the opinion of an evil meaning."

Thus Cecil and his friends having, as they believed, baffled a deep design, thought they might conclude the farce by a touch of light irony, which they might have omitted had they known all. Queen Mary found other emissaries. The letters to her friends in France already referred to, describing her deplorable condition, and crying out for armed assistance, were written after the refusal

to forward Fleming on his way, and refer to that refusal as a grievance.

One of Queen Mary's emissaries being thus disposed of, we have to look to the other, whose business was destined to achieve more enduring importance.

John Maxwell, Lord Herries, a Protestant, was reputed to hold by the party of the regent and the Lords of the Congregation; but when, after the marriage with Darnley, the heads of the party were driven into England, he remained on the north side of the Border, surrendered himself, and made his peace with the queen. He was now the most zealous and active of her champions. He appears to have been ambitious of measuring wits with Lethington as a scientific diplomatist, drawing his resources from the Machiavellian school. Hence, like his rival, he was always suspected of some deep and subtle design in all he did.

The tenor of his negotiations comes to us in a paper corrected by Cecil. He stated that although it was the principal desire of his mistress to have a personal conference with her sister, "if her majesty could not find it meet presently to assent thereunto, yet, he said, that if her majesty would take the understanding of her cause in hand, she would wholly commit the same to be ordered by her majesty." What immediately follows is not so distinct; but it appears to mean that in this offer Queen Mary is not to be considered as submitting her case to be judicially dealt with like a lawsuit, since she "took herself as a prince and monarch subject to none;" and that especially the example of a litigation should not be followed in the admission of any of her subjects, "whom she accounted traitors," to be heard as her accusers.

On this point Herries might be at his ease, for it was Queen Elizabeth's intention to adopt the very opposite course: "As to use any form or process herein by way of judgment, whereby her subjects should be reputed accusers of her, the queen's majesty was so far from that intention, as she meant rather to have such of them as the Queen of Scots should name called into this realm to be charged with such crimes as the said queen should

please to object against them; and if any form of judgment should be used, it should be against them."

The end to be held in view was no less gracious towards her sister than the method in which it was to be reached: "The Queen of Scots her sister should assure herself that she desired not for herself to deal in this cause of the crimes imputed to the said queen, but only wished, considering her cause, that some good means might be devised how she might be honourably acquitted thereof, which if it might be, her majesty would be most glad, and so she should be surely restored with all princely honour, and enabled to chastise her rebels. And if it should not fall out so clearly to all purposes as were to be wished, yet her majesty meant not in any wise so to deal herein as thereby to animate or give comfort to any subjects to proceed against their sovereign for any manner of cause whatsoever could be alleged, but would do her best, after the matter heard, to compound all difficulties without bloodshed, and procure her quietness in her realm and peace among her people." [1]

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[1] Statement revised and corrected by Cecil; Anderson, iv. 1 *et seq.* So far as facts and conduct are described in this and the other papers to be presently referred to, they have to be taken on the authority of the writer of each, as it may be affected either in the direction of confirmation or of dubiety by other documents or by public ascertained facts. It may be objected that pure history ought to embody the abstract truth to be found by the comparison of conflicting sources of information, and ought always to be the statement of the historian, who is presumed to be perfectly impartial, not that of the persons interested in the transactions to be told. In answer to such a view, the author has to say that he believes he keeps nearest to the truth by adhering as closely as possible to the matter of the great State documents, which are the fundamental material of the history of the period. It is a history that has been so overlaid with theories, conjectures, and angry controversy, that the best thing we can now do seems to be to carry it back as close as may be to the fundamental authorities, without allowing too much importance even to the morsels of contemporary gossip and rumour disclosed in the secondary correspondence of the period. In conducting the narrative towards the accomplishment of the object thus in view, the chief element of preparation lies in the grouping of the substance of the disconnected documents in the order of the events to which their several parts refer. This method affords an easy opportunity for quoting the words

Murray had then an agent in London named John Wood. The purpose for which his presence was acknowledged by the English Court was "to understand the queen's majesty's pleasure for the proceeding in this cause of the Queen of Scots." The duty confided to him was to intimate that Murray was prepared to vindicate all that had been done by his party in the train of events which had ended in his becoming regent.

At a point in the conferences held by Queen Elizabeth's advisers with Herries and Wood it was determined to send an emissary to Scotland.

A certain Henry Middlemore, "one of good understanding and credit," was selected for the service. He was not an ambassador, and as he is not otherwise known in political life, it is probable that an obscure man was selected for the purpose of rendering the aspect of his mission as little ambassadorial as might be. His first visit was to Queen Mary at Carlisle. By the terms of his instructions he was to represent that "the queen [Elizabeth] meaneth to take her and her cause into her protection, and according to the justice of the cause will prosecute all her adversaries." He was to tell her that his queen would not deal with the Earl of Murray "in any point tending to affirm the coronation of the prince her son as king." He was to repeat the explanation, that the reason why his queen could not receive her sister sovereign was the yet unrefuted charges of heavy crimes lying against her, but "that the queen's majesty doth neither condemn her of the same, nor yet can acquit her until she shall hear what may be said therein." [1]

If we are to accept Middlemore's own account of his interview with Queen Mary, we must admit that he gave sufficient emphasis to the reason why his queen could not admit the fugitive to her presence. The charges with which her fame was blackened—the charge of murdering

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of the documents themselves, when it happens, as it often does, that the sense cannot be trusted into other words without the risk of being perverted.

[1] Anderson, iv. 66.

her husband especially — were not more broadly and offensively set forth by her accusers. Already in the eyes of the world, including some "very great princes," the character of his mistress was liable to be tainted, because in her kindness to the person charged with crimes so foul she had seemed tolerant of them. Her whole anxiety was to rescue her sister; but if she were to receive the proffered visit, so that the two should meet together in sisterly communing, any judgment which the Queen of England might afterwards pass on her conduct would be set down as the partial effort of a friend to screen the guilty.

If Middlemore uttered but a portion of the expressions that he took credit for, it is not surprising that the meeting was a stormy one, and that Mary did not get through it "without great passion and weeping, complaining of her evil usage, and contrarious handling to her expectation." Middlemore gave the oft-repeated assurance that her subjects were not to be heard as her accusers; on the contrary, they were to be treated as subjects charged with rebellion against their sovereign. At this point she was shown the letter to Murray with which we have presently to deal, and there she found that these rebels were to be invited to say what they could in palliation of their conduct. From this she drew a broad conclusion: "She said it appeared that the queen's majesty would be more favourable to my Lord of Murray and his than she would be to her; for it seems she was contented that they should come to her presence to accuse her, but she will not permit her to come to her to purge herself. Here she inveighed greatly against my Lord of Murray and his party, and said she was a prince and they were but subjects, and yet traitors, so as there was no equality between her and them to make themselves a party against her; but, said she, 'if they will needs come, desire my good sister the queen to write that Lethington and Morton, who be two of the wisest and most able of them to say most against me, do come, and then to let me be there in her presence face to face to hear their accusations; but I think Lethington would be very loath of that commission,' said she."

On one demand she was easily dealt with—the cessation of hostilities. Whatever the farther end might be, to stay Murray's hand was to save her party from immediate destruction. But then came as a corollary "the troublesome point of Dumbarton." She was desired to take order that no French auxiliaries should be received into the garrison. "Her answer was plain, that in case her majesty would not assure her of her full help and aid for the suppressing of her evil and unruly subjects, she neither could nor would leave and forsake the aid of other friends; but rather than not to be revenged of them, she would go herself to the great Turk for help against them."

There remained still an article in Middlemore's instructions; but it was in part so vague and oracular that he seems to have prudently repeated it as he got it, without any attempt to enlarge on it. It was that his mistress "did mean shortly to have her brought nearer unto her, to some place where she might have more pleasure and more liberty, and be utterly out of the danger of her enemies; and so as her grace should grow, so her majesty would not fail to advance her to further degree of her full contentation." The hapless messenger had this "kept in store to make a pleasant parting, although it did not so fall out." To a storm of questions as to the shape in which she was to be removed—as a prisoner or as a guest?—and other particulars, he did not give, and had probably no means of giving, any satisfactory answer; and he had no recourse but to make something like a retreat from what he termed "a great conflict."[1]

The emissary passed on to Scotland, and delivered to the regent a letter from Queen Elizabeth. Like all the ostensible documents coming from the Court of England, it was carefully worded, so as to avoid any terms importing the validity of Queen Mary's abdication, of her son's coronation, or of Murray's appointment as regent. The reason for addressing the message to him is expressly told: "Considering the government of that realm is in your power at this present." This letter begins with a

[1] Anderson, iv. 80-94.

rapid enumeration of the wrongs of which Queen Mary complained. With a modification of the bitter eloquence, they are detailed much as she herself stated them to Elizabeth. This preamble is followed by articulate demands, thus: "All which things cannot but sound very strange in the ears of us, being a prince sovereign, having dominions and subjects committed to our power as she had. For remedy whereof she requireth our aid as her next cousin and neighbour, and for justification of her whole cause is content to commit the hearing and ordering thereof simply to us." She requires him in the mean time to abandon all hostile acts, whether by open warfare or legal process, against those who have taken part with the queen. She notes that it had come to her ears that he was willing to lay before her an explanation of his "whole doings." The conclusion is a requisition "to impart to us plainly and sufficiently all that which shall be meet to inform us of the truth for your defences in such weighty crimes and causes as the said queen hath already or shall hereafter object against you contrary to the duty of natural-born subjects; so as we, being duly informed on all parts, may by the assistance of God, direct our actions and orders principally to His glory, and next to the conservation of our own honour in the sight of all other princes, and finally to the maintenance of peace and concord betwixt both these two realms." [1]

This letter preserves consistency with the high prerogative views expressed by Elizabeth a year earlier, but with modified vehemence. But a new and significant element appears. The dominant party in Scotland are rebels who can be only dealt with as criminals. They cannot be heard as accusers of their sovereign, yet they are invited to tell all that they can tell in vindication of their conduct.

In answer to these propositions, a solemn document by the regent in Council was delivered to Middlemore. The purport of it simply was, Suppose we prove all that we have charged against the queen, how shall we then stand?

[1] Anderson, iv. 69, 70.

"We wad be maist laith to enter in accusation of the queen, mother of the king our sovereign, and syne to enter in qualification with her; for all men may judge how dangerous and prejudicial that should be. Always, in case the queen's majesty will have the accusation directly to proceed, it were most reasonable we understood what we should look to follow thereupon, in case we prove all that we allege, otherwise we shall be as uncertain after the cause concluded as we are presently." Already had they had sharp experience of what Elizabeth could do to save herself from being dragged before the world as a conniver with subjects rising against their sovereign. If they trusted themselves in her hands, they might expect at any time to be silenced, and told that there was nothing for it but submission to their lawful sovereign. The question before them was, whether it were better to stand as they were, and defend what they had done against all assailants, than to enter on this dubious engagement with the sovereign of England.

The nature of the difficulty must be weighed in estimating the peculiar method taken to clear it. The Scots Estates had already declared to the world that they had satisfied themselves of their sovereign's guilt by documentary evidence, "divers her privy letters," the same afterwards familiarly known as the casket letters. Would these be sufficient to convince the Government of Elizabeth that they had done rightly? To feel their way so far, their emissary now took with him a copy of these documents, or rather a vernacular translation of them, as to which they say, "We wad earnestly desire that the said copies may be considered by the judges that shall have the examination and commission of the matter, that they may resolve to us thus far, in case the principal agree with the copy that then we prove the cause indeed."[1] This is the first point at which a reference to the casket letters is found in the discussions with the Court of England. To whom they were shown it is not easy to determine. One great point is doubtful—whether Queen Elizabeth saw these

[1] Goodall, ii. 75, 76.

copies, or was in any way made acquainted with the full purport of the casket papers. We find Murray afterwards complaining of it as one of his difficulties, that "the queen's majesty of England was not made privy to the matter as she behoved to be." [1]

The answer to these proposals was, both in the form and in the words, such as if Cecil who prepared it were anxious that no part of it should be dubious or equivocal. Both in litigation and diplomacy long experience has taught that the most sure method of bringing parties to a distinct utterance is to pick out each claim and require a separate answer to it. In pursuance of this method, Murray's paper, or rather that of the Scots Council, is answered paragraph by paragraph. Where they state their reluctance to accuse their queen without some assurance about the result, they are told that "the queen's majesty never meant to have any to come to make any accusation of the queen; but meaning to have some good end to grow between the queen and her subjects, was content to hear anything they had to say for themselves." On the other question, What if they prove all their charges? or, in other words, produce the originals of the copies of the casket letters? the answer is, "The queen's majesty never meaneth so to deal in the cause as to proceed to any condemnation of the Queen of Scots, but hath a desire to compound all differences betwixt her and her subjects, and therein not to allow any faults that shall appear in the queen, but by reasonable and honourable conditions to make some good end, with sufficient surety for all parties."

There is here thorough distinctness as to immediate intentions; but this distinctness seems only to render the end all the more obscure. Anything that Queen Mary's enemies were disposed to say would be heard; but of what would follow nothing is revealed: we see only that at this point Queen Elizabeth was not prepared to admit that any act that could be proved against Queen Mary would justify the forfeiture of her regal power and dignity.

Down to this point it is observable that there is a con-

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[1] Letter produced at Norfolk's trial; State Trials, i. 98a.

formity of purpose in the proposals of the two queens, but a thorough contrast in tone. That which Queen Elizabeth does not intend to do, her sister vehemently declares must not and shall not be done. The 13th of June is the date of one of Mary's passionate appeals. It is thus connected with Middlemore's visit to Carlisle, and it was doubtless in Cecil's hands when he prepared the answer to the demands of the Scots Council.

In this appeal she repeats the demand for the personal interview. She came to England to charge her rebellious subjects with their offences against her, and to obtain from her sister queen assistance for their due punishment. That they should be heard in any statement against her were an outrage on the relation of sovereign and subject. She is ready to justify herself to her sister as friend to friend, but not in a discussion with her subjects unless their hands are tied. She will die sooner than submit to such an outrage." [1]

It had not yet been determined that she should be subject to the humiliation of answering the accusations made against her, but her natural acuteness seems to have taught her that matters were drifting to that conclusion.

The position in which Middlemore's mission put the question was that Murray and his friends were invited to make their charges in the shape of a defence. After his return a further step gave the whole affair more distinctly the appearance of two parties conducting a litigation before a judicial tribunal. It was proposed to Herries that a deputation from Murray's party should come to England to state what they had to say for themselves, and that another deputation should come from the queen's

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[1] "Je ne puis ny ne veulx respondre à leurs faulses accusations, mais ouy bien par amitié et bon plaisir me veulx-je justifier vers vous de bonne voglia, mais non en forme de procès contre mes subjectz, s'ilz n'avoyent les mains liées ; madame, eux et moy ne sommes en rien compaignons, et quand je devrois estre tenue icy, encores aymeroy je mieulx mourir que me faire telle."—Labanoff, ii. 99. This passage is worthy of minute attention, since it has been translated not as if Mary wished her accusers' hands tied, but as if her reason for her determination was that her own hands were tied.

party to represent her interest. Herries naturally misliked a project which seemed to him virtually to put his sovereign on her defence against the accusations of her subjects. We are then told that "after much conference with him by her majesty, in the presence of her Council, it was at length resolved best, for some speedy end of the queen's causes, that the Earl of Murray shall either speedily come himself with some company, or send some of the best estate of the land. Likeas, the Queen of Scots, he said, should have some of the principal of the realm of her part to meet in some part of the north of this realm, near to the said queen." It is the more necessary to remember that these are the words of the narrative authenticated by Cecil, on account of what follows on it. Immediate steps were taken to bring up the deputations, but within four or five days afterwards Herries requested a special audience. What he had to say was, "that the queen would neither make any answer to any matter propounded by her own subjects, nor yet to any other person of any estate in this realm to be deputed by the queen's majesty, concerning the crimes wherewith she was charged; but if she might come personally to her majesty, then she would show that to her majesty which she had to say, adding that she would also therein say that which she never yet had uttered to any creature."[1] It was afterwards supposed that Herries took this stand "upon letters that he had received out of Scotland, which were taken by certain of the queen's men from a messenger of the earl's," meaning the Earl of Murray. When Herries was asked why he had revoked the consent given by him in express terms to the proposed arrangement, he denied that he had given such distinct consent, "or, to use better speech, that he did not so conceive it." The proposed conference, or by whatever name it might be called, was stopped for the time. Herries left London on the 14th of July, after having, as the same narrative says, returned to his old approval of the conference.

During the interval he suggested a new project. It

[1] See above, p. 390.

opened large questions of policy, and deeply interested Queen Elizabeth's advisers; but as it came to nothing it may be briefly told. England had much to fear both from France and Spain. In the present condition of affairs, Frenchmen might crowd into Scotland to fight under the queen's banner without compromising the French Government in a question either with Scotland or England. Let Queen Elizabeth, then, frankly undertake the restoration of Queen Mary, having first received absolute assurances from France and Spain not only to preserve neutrality, but to restrain their subjects from joining in the contest. The suggestion had "good appearance in reason to be farther considered." It was the more worthy of attention that Herries, though a supporter of Queen Mary, was a Protestant. He was asked whether he had ground of assurance on the part of France and Spain for the part that each was to take, or if he acted merely on the instruction of the queen his mistress. After some pressing he admitted that the plan had no better support than his own opinion. As that was not sufficient warrant for so bold a policy the matter was dropped.[1]

Though the much-sought royal conference was as hopeless as ever, Herries could not well complain of being unnoticed and unheard. He seems to have been in continual intercourse with the leading statesmen in England, and he had several royal audiences. His mission came to a close before the month of August, and of its latter stages we have accounts in two dissimilar shapes—the one a solemn minute of the English Council relating to the policy to be pursued about the Queen of Scots, the other a full report of his mission rendered by Herries to his mistress.

As apart from the great personages interested, he had to complain of the credit given to inferior persons, who were placed in the several offices of the Government in Scotland by rebels and traitors. In Scotland, of course, that could not be helped; but there was Wood, a mere tricky lawyer, who had been acting the part of ambassador; and

[1] Anderson, iv. 17-21.

now had come up James Macgill, the clerk-register, one of the same tribe, although Herries might have added that the worst things done by him belonged to the sphere of the politician rather than the lawyer. On these matters some little sarcastic fencing between Herries and the gentlemen of the Council was broken in upon by Queen Elizabeth herself, briefly, but in thorough character. These, Herries said, were not the class of persons who were entitled to meddle in the high affairs of sovereigns. "It is true," said the queen; "and I shall not suffer Macgill to come into my presence, nor any one of those who have set themselves against your mistress."[1] Herries, of course, did not waste this last opportunity of pressing that Elizabeth should admit her sister to a royal conference, and take steps for her immediate restoration. If she would not act thus, would she then let matters return to their former shape by permitting his mistress to re-embark in the open boat in which she had crossed to England? This was treated as a touch of petulance. The queen, so long as she had it in her power, would be bound to stand between her sister and an escapade so foolish and dangerous. Would she then be permitted to seek refuge in France? It happened that at the same time Cecil was writing anxiously to the English ambassador in France about rumours of an expedition to Scotland in concert with the Hamiltons.[2] This proposal, however, like the other, was met with banter, but of a more bitter and significant kind. When she sojourned there of old she had taken the armorial achievements and the title of Queen of England; when she reached French ground she would perhaps do so again.

In fact this affair was the subject of serious discussions which Herries had no opportunity of reporting. Queen Mary had never personally ratified that treaty of Edinburgh in which her pretensions to the throne of England

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1 "'Il est vray,' dict la royne; 'et je ne souffriray poinct que Makgill vienne en ma présence, ni pas ung de ceulx qui sont contre votre maistresse.'"—Teulet, ii. 240.

2 Cabala, 150.

were abandoned, both by the predominant power in Scotland, and by the representatives of France. On this point, as on that of the royal assent to the Acts abolishing the old Church and establishing the new, she adopted the same negative policy, and in both she exemplified the potency of silence. She felt in both instances the strength of her position. If the Estates urged her to ratify their Acts, this was an admission that her assent was necessary —an admission that would help to exclude them from the statute-book if the assent were in the end refused. So it was a questionable policy to press on her the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, as such pressure would reveal anxiety and danger, and might not in the end be effective.

It will have to be told that one of the duties of the commission appointed about Queen Mary's affairs was to procure this ratification. The question did not come up in the course of the discussions, and these included so much other matter of personal interest that the omission has rarely been noticed; but this omission was afterwards the foundation of a grave charge. Norfolk was the chief commissioner; and when he was put on trial for high treason, one of the items whence his treason was inferred was, that he took no steps under the instructions received by him about the ratification of the treaty; and it was charged against him that he "well and truly knew and understood that Mary, late Queen of Scots, had laid claim and pretended a title and interest to the present possession and dignity of the imperial crown of the kingdom of England;" and that down to the date of his treason, the 22d of September 1569, he knew that "she had not revoked or renounced her wicked and unjust claims and usurpations aforesaid."[1] Through all the phases of her correspondence at this period—be it vehement, sarcastic, conciliatory, or persuasive—no words appear that can be interpreted as a resignation of her right over England. I can recall but one allusion to it, and that is a threat that she will indorse it over to some prince better able

[1] State Trials, i. 960 *et seq.*

than herself to give effect to it; and so, as we shall find in the end, she did. At the end of the month of December, when the long controversy we shall presently have to enter upon was drawing to its close, Cecil, in one of the many papers in which he suggested a line of policy for his mistress, referring to her rival, says: "Considering the said queen hath heretofore manifestly, in the sight of the whole world, a thing also now registered in chronicles, made title to this crown, and hitherto hath never made satisfaction for the wrong, nor now cannot, she may not without great folly permit the said queen to be at liberty to become her enemy, and so to stir troubles by her allies abroad."[1]

This affair of the treaty was kept by English statesmen chiefly to themselves, and is but slightly alluded to in the communings with Herries. There was another matter of anxiety as to which it was necessary, so far as possible, to observe profound silence in all dealings with Scotsmen. This was the old question, never forgotten though often hidden out of sight, of the superiority of the crown of England over the realm of Scotland. The Privy Council enjoined extreme caution, lest, in the difficult and delicate negotiations in progress, anything should be done to endanger the ancient claim of the crown of England; but hitherto the noxious question had not intruded on the negotiations.

Towards the end of July Herries returned to his mistress, and reported the result to her. He desired that Scrope and Knollys should be present on the occasion; and Knollys, whose narratives have ever the merit of distinctness, retailed what was said to Cecil. The Queen of England's offer was put by Herries thus: "That if she would commit her cause to be heard by her highness's order, but not to make her highness judge over her, but rather as to her dear cousin and friend, to commit herself to her advice and counsel; and that if she would thus do, her highness would surely set her again in her seat of regiment and dignity regal in this form and order. First,

[1] Goodall, ii. 275.

her highness would send for the noblemen of Scotland that be her adversaries, to ask account of them before such noblemen of England as this queen herself should like of, to know their answer why they have deposed their queen and sovereign from her regiment; and that if in their answers they could allege some reason for them in their so doing (which her highness thinks they cannot do), that her highness would set this queen in her seat regal, conditionally that those her lords and subjects should continue in their honours, states, and dignities to them appertaining: but if they should not be able to allege any reason of their doings, that then her highness would absolutely set her in her seat regal, and that by force of hostility if they should resist, upon condition that this queen should renounce to claim, or have any present title to, the crown of England during the continuance of her highness and the issue of her body; and also upon condition that this queen, leaving the straight league with France, should enter into league with England; and also upon condition that this queen should abandon the mass in Scotland, and receive the common prayer after the form of England: and this message the said Lord Herrys repeated seven or eight times in our hearing unto this queen; and although at the first she seemed to make some scruple in yielding hereunto, yet upon further conference with my Lord Herrys, she said she would submit her cause unto her highness in thankful manner accordingly."[1]

More astounding than the proposal of these stipulations about the mass and the Church of England was the spirit in which it was received. This, too, must be told in the words of Knollys, who had the best opportunity of noticing what he speaks of, and can have had no temptation to exaggerate it: "As touching this queen, she hath used herself very discreetly in divers respects, and hath grown to a very good liking of our common prayer; and she hath received an English chaplain to her service that is a good preacher; and she hath heard him in his sermons

[1] Anderson, iv. 109, 110.

inveigh against Pharisaical justification of works and all kind of Papistry, and that to the advancement of the Gospel, with attentive and contented ears; and she hath seemed repentantly to acknowledge that her offences and negligence of her duty towards God hath justly deserved the injurious punishment, as she saith, and disgrace done unto her by her adversaries in her own country. Now, whether the increase of her sober, religious, and repentant behaviour be done *bona fide* or not, I leave between God and her conscience; or whether the tyrannous subtilty of the Cardinal Lorayne and the ambitious heads of the house of Guise may call her back to perilous enterprises, I will not take upon me to judge."[1] When this good news was sent to Murray he suggested that resorting to the Church of England might serve her present turn "to move godly men to conceive a good opinion of her conformity and towardness." But he said, with a dryness almost approaching to humour, that if she were again on the throne, "it would be one of the most difficult conditions for any one to become good for that she should abandon the mass."[2]

It is clear that she had begun to play a deep game, and that so long as she thought it worth while she played it with wonderful success. She evidently had not abandoned it when at the end of the ensuing February a correspondent of Cecil's reported having seen her, when "she heard the English service, with a book of the Psalms in English in her hand, which she showed me after."[3] Had Knollys and others about her known all that has since been revealed, they would have felt that there were few things in human affairs nearer to impossibility than the conversion of Queen Mary. Her entire devotion to the Church of Rome, if it may not be called a good, is at least a grand, feature in her character. Except while under the dominion of that fatal passion to which she sacrificed everything around her, and sacrificed herself, never had she failed to hold absolute devotion to her own Church as uppermost

[1] Anderson, iv. 113. [2] Ibid., 115, 116.
[3] Haynes's State Papers, 509.

among her duties. And both before and after the time when these symptoms of a satisfactory awakening were noticed, her marvellous capacity for baffling her keepers is shown in repeated assurances to her friends in France and Spain, that if appearances over which she, a captive, can have no control, may turn against her, yet she is stanch, and will rather suffer death than do any act that may touch the supremacy of the true Church.[1]

Noting that the form of Protestantism to which she professed an inclination was that of the Church of England as distinct from the Calvinism of Scotland, we may perhaps find some light upon her motives from a passage in the instruction afterwards issued by her to her commissioners at the conference of York :—

"When it was desired that the religion as it presently is in England should be established and used in my realm, it is to be answered by you, that albeit I have been instructed and nourished in that religion whilk hath stand

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[1] "L'ansienne religion, en laquelle j'espère mourir."—To Charles IX. of France, 21st June 1568; Labanoff, ii. 113. "Dieu m'esprouve bien; pour le moins assurez-vous que je mourray Catholique."—To the Cardinal of Lorraine, 21st June ; ibid., 117. "Je vous assure, et, vous supplie, assurés en le roi, que je mouray en la religion Cattolique Romaine."—24th September, to the Queen of Spain, to whom she would fain send her son, and "soubmetre à tous dangers pour establir tout ceste isle à l'antique et bonne foy."—Ibid., 183-187. This remarkable letter, repeatedly referred to in the text, is worthy of careful study as a revelation. If Mary opened her heart to any one, it was to this young sister-in-law. She enjoins secrecy, for there are things in the letter for which she would be put to death. It is in this letter that she speaks of the influence she had established among the Roman Catholics of the north, and other perilous matter. To have written and despatched from her prison such a manifesto, shows her wonderful capacity for securing faithful services, and her equally wonderful courage in relying both on the fidelity and the skilfulness of those who served her. She wrote afterwards to Philip himself, and to his minister of evil, the Duke of Alva, in the same strain.

In the manifesto issued in her name to all Christian princes, her dealing with those who made her tempting offers for the abandonment of her faith is described as "leur disant haut et clair que plustot elle perdroict la vie avec sa couronne et liberté pour jamais, que de quicter aucune chose de la religion en laquelle seule consiste le salut de l'âme."—Teulet, ii. 249.

lang time within my realm, and been observed by my predecessors, called the auld religion, yet, nevertheless, I will use the counsel of my dearest sister the queen's majesty of England thereanent, by the advice of my Estates in Parliament, and labour that is in me to cause the same have place through all my realm, as it is proposed to the glory of God and uniformity of religion in time coming."[1] If she undertook to get the Estates of Scotland to abjure the creed and forms which had been modelled on the practice of France, and to substitute for them those of England, she did what she could do with entire safety, since she had not the faintest chance of being permitted to keep her promise. To have engaged this for the propitiation of Elizabeth would have proved a repetition of the farce of the "assured lords," who bought their liberty from Henry VIII., by a promise to betray their country which they were unable to keep.

The troubled state of Scotland, and other incidental causes, delayed the first steps in the great business until the approach of winter. The only notable incident during the interval was an address to Queen Elizabeth by the leaders of Queen Mary's party, calling for an armed intervention for the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the Queen of Scots. They rested on arguments which had at that stage of the business been many times repeated, and the most notable feature of their appeal is that the Hamiltons were no party to it, unless they were represented by the Archbishop of St Andrews.

In September the commission of inquiry was issued under the great seal of England to three persons—the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Essex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. No doubt it had been drawn and adjusted with much anxious criticism. There is perceptible a skilful touch in conferring on the confederates a certain quality of royalty. They are not the rebels and traitors they had so often been called in documents both of England and Scotland, but persons "who have submitted themselves under the

[1] Goodall, ii. 346.

obedience" of "our cousin the prince, son of our sister the queen:" it was on the face of the commission rather a family dispute than a question about a national revolution. The duty of the commissioners was to settle "all manner of hostilities, differences, controversies, questions, matters, debates, and contentions," arising out of the family division. Besides these instructions, only rendered more vague by multiplicity of words, there were others for confirming or improving the treaty of Edinburgh—that which professed to withdraw Queen Mary's claim on the crown of England.[1]

The commissioners named by Queen Mary were Leslie Bishop of Ross, Lord Livingston, Lord Boyd, Lord Herries, Gavin Hamilton the Commendator of Kilwinning, Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Skirling. The version of their commission which has come down to us is a short document, stating that Queen Elizabeth had engaged to restore the Queen of Scots to her realm and authority, from which she had been extruded by certain of her "disobedient and rebellious subjects:" they are empowered to co-operate with her sister's commissioners for the furtherance of this end.[2] The English took a technical objection to this commission as not sufficiently broad to meet their own; and it was afterwards enlarged by the addition of a clause giving "authority and power to treat, conclude, and decern upon all matters and causes in controversy between the Queen of Scots and her sub-

[1] Anderson, iv. p. ii, 6, 7.

[2] Ibid., 34. There is some mystery about this version of the commission. Of that which was shown to the English commissioners, it is complained by them that it contains a condition restraining her commissioners "by special words to treat and agree upon anything that might touch the said queen in her estate and honour," and also limited their power by certain "private articles and instructions." The Scots commissioners proposed to withdraw this commission and obtain another in more satisfactory form.—Ibid., 26, 27. The document referred to in the text does not contain such clauses as the English objected to; yet it cannot well be the amended commission, since it is dated on the 29th of September, and the meeting at which it was criticised was held on the 4th of October, while it does not contain the additional clause referred to in the text.

jects, so always as the same do not touch the title of her crown nor sovereignty thereof."[1]

Though Queen Mary's commission was a short document, her instructions to those who held it were long and full. Yet long and full as they were, so nervous was their mistress as to anything they might commit her to, that she charges them, "how soon anything bes answered by my disobedient subjects to the complaints foresaids, ye shall desire the same to be given in writ, to the effect ye may advise thereon with myself ere ye answer thereto, I being so concerned, specially if the same touches my honour, whilk I esteem mair tender than my life, crown, authority, or any other thing on earth." The bulk of these instructions is the oft-repeated narrative of the conduct of her subjects towards her. She offers to forget and forgive all if they will return to their allegiance. She will not submit herself to the judgment of Elizabeth, or of any prince or judge on earth; but she is content to take the counsel of the Queen of England as to the measure she shall deal out towards her rebellious subjects. If she is charged with the murder of her husband, it is to be denied. As appropriate to this, one item of the instructions stands separate and significant, in its anticipation of the production of the casket letters—a contingency which, as we shall see, did not come until an advanced stage in the conference: "In case they allege they have any writings of mine, whilk may infer presumptions against me, in that cause, ye shall desire the principals to be produced, and that I myself may have inspection thereof and make answer thereto; for ye shall affirm in my name I never writ anything concerning that matter to any creature. And if any such writings be, they are false and feinyet, forgit and inventit by themselves only to my dishonour and slander; and there are divers in Scotland, both men and women, that can counterfeit my handwriting, and write the like manner of writing whilk I use as well as myself, and principally such as are in company with themselves."[2]

[1] Report by the English commissioners, Oct. 17; Goodall, ii. 174.
[2] Goodall, ii. 337-343.

The queen's commission was accompanied by a paper of resolutions and instructions signed by a body of her chief supporters. This, no doubt, was designed to balance the Parliamentary authority by which all the proceedings in the name of the infant king were sanctioned.

A third commission was issued in the name of "James, by the grace of God King of Scots." The commissioners named in it were Murray, Morton, Adam Bothwell Bishop of Orkney—the same who had performed the ceremony at the queen's last marriage—Robert Pitcairn Commendator of Dunfermline, and Lord Lyndsay of the Byres. Their functions were briefly expressed. They were "to convene with the commissioners and deputies of our dearest sister the Queen of England," and explain the causes whereupon "divers of our nobility and good subjects," during the time of his mother's reign, rose in arms against her, and put her under restraint, with power to adjust all matters arising out of that business. There were powers for dealing with the treaty of Edinburgh, either by confirming or revising it, all for "the maintenance of the true religion publicly professed by the inhabitants of both the realms," and resisting any foreign power or party at home that might disturb "the unity of the said religion; as also for increase of amity, peace, and concord betwixt our said sister and us, our realms, dominions, people, and subjects." On reading the three commissions, a stranger to the accompanying facts might naturally think that of all the three potentates whose names were used, King James was the one most completely at his ease about his royal rank and prerogatives.

There exist instructions for the guidance of the English commissioners more important in their revelations than all the three commissions. Of these a portion—to appearance very carefully adjusted under Cecil's revisal—contemplated the restoration of Queen Mary, and made provision accordingly. As the policy so laid down was never practically tried, or even seriously discussed, a brief notice of it may suffice, as showing a future which was at least so far within human possibility that the sage servants of the English crown thought fit to provide for it as a con-

tingency. It was proposed that the queen should govern through a council not of her own selection. The members were to be appointed at the conference, and there was to be an arrangement for filling vacancies by a vote. This was virtually a permanent council of regency; in modern phraseology it was putting the crown in commission. There were arrangements for an appeal to Queen Elizabeth as umpire when difficulties of a specified kind might interrupt the working of this State engine. It was an instruction to the commissioners that they were to get this arrangement suggested "by the said Queen of Scots' own princely motion, upon good persuasion to be made to her on that behalf."

The treaty of Edinburgh was to be confirmed, that treaty so often referred to as stipulating that Queen Mary should abandon her claim to the crown of England. In demanding this confirmation, the English commissioners were instructed to offer a concession of an interesting and important kind. It was intended by the treaty to exclude all claim by Queen Mary during the life of Queen Elizabeth or her descendants. But in case it might be inferred, owing to the dubious terms of the treaty, that the exclusion was absolute, it was to be stipulated that "no part of the said treaty made at Edinburgh shall bind the said Queen of Scots or her children after the determination of the life of the queen's majesty—which God long preserve—and the heirs of her body." This concession was not suggested by empty generosity. The old league with France was to be so far modified that Scotland was not to assist the French in an invasion of the English dominions; and should the Queen of Scots do anything to assist a hostile invasion of these dominions, she was to forfeit all title to the succession.

Passing from these specimens of unproductive statecraft, we find an item in these instructions of far more vivid interest, so far as we have to deal with the personal character of the two queens. It may be remembered how Murray pressed for an announcement of the course to be taken by the Queen of England if the contents of the casket were found to be identical with the copies sent to

England for perusal. The instructions, by way of dealing with this appeal, put the supposition that the king's party may be deterred from proffering their charge "upon the doubt they have that the queen's majesty will, notwithstanding any crime proved upon her, restore her to her kingdom and rule," whereupon they should never be free from her indignation. Then follows this distinct instruction: "It may be answered by the queen's majesty's commissioners, that indeed her majesty's desire hath been always from the beginning that the said queen might be found free, especially from the crime of her husband's murder. Nevertheless, if her majesty shall find it to be plainly and manfully proved—whereof she would be very sorry—that the said Queen of Scots was the deviser and procurer of that murder, or otherwise was guilty thereof, surely her majesty would think her unworthy of a kingdom, and would not stain her own conscience in maintenance of such a detestable wickedness by restoring her to a kingdom." On the other hand, the grave charges went no farther than "suspicions and conjectures;" and if nothing could be proved against her save some indiscretions, it would be proper to consider how she might be restored without power to do mischief; and it was to this end that the limitations above referred to were devised.[1]

Here a distinct change has come over the tone and policy of Queen Elizabeth. That high position of a divine right never to be questioned by subjects is abandoned. She tells the rebels and traitors of her former denunciations that there are possible conditions under which the queen they have deposed ought not to be restored. And here, no doubt, Queen Elizabeth's conduct courts the reproach, that while she refused to hear subjects on a charge against their sovereign, she invited them to promulgate their charges in their own defence. Nay, farther, she drove them to the point that the crimes with which they charged their queen must be of the deepest dye, and the evidence in their support absolute and overwhelming; for on these conditions alone could they keep

[1] Anderson, iv. (2) 8 *et seq.*

their deposed sovereign from the throne and provide for their own safety. Thus Queen Elizabeth, who refused to hear the charges against her sister queen, made sure that they should be made, and made in the most aggravated form. Such a conclusion would be irresistible under the usual method of treating this affair as a mere personal contest between two rival queens who hated and tried to ruin each other—a contest wrought up into a picturesque tragedy, relieved by touches of comedy or farce where the bitternesses or weaknesses of the two furies becomes irresistibly ludicrous. No doubt there was personal jealousy and contention; but there were powers at work so strong as to lead towards broader purposes all such secondary influences. At that time any probable concurrence of events—as, for instance, the paralysis of the Huguenot party in France, or the subjugation of the Dutch—might virtually arm all Europe against the English Government. Nor was it expected to be a war for the subjugation of the English people, all united to meet the enemy with their old stubborn courage. The strangers would seek only to drive the heretic queen from her throne; they would find sympathisers, if not actual allies, in a large body of her people still attached to the old Church. The Romish party in Scotland would vigorously aid a project to place their own queen on the throne of England; and there would be such things done in Ireland as, if they might not materially affect the condition of Europe, would leave tragic recollections behind them. In the king's party Murray and the other leaders had serious political problems to solve. These stood in the way of his acting either the devoted or the treacherous brother, if either had been his object. And even among the adherents of Queen Mary, subject as they had been to the unsettling influences of her wild and wayward career, there were those who had a public policy in view outweighing personal considerations. Some there may have been who believed in her innocence; but to many this question was of secondary consideration. They held, and honestly held, the doctrine that the crimes and follies of princes are to be buried in silence and blindness. They were not to be told to the world, and

they were not even to be seen by the eyes that looked upon them.

Besides the great questions arising out of foreign policy holding influence over the attitude taken by England there was a point of policy more domestic in its character which materially affected the form and tenor of the conduct of the English Government towards Scotland. This is the old question of the feudal supremacy of the crown of England over the crown of Scotland. The forged documents so distinctly setting forth this supremacy had now been more than a century among the English archives. Now that they were themselves old, it was less easy than ever to prove the falsity of the internal evidence that they were three hundred years older. No English statesman had more occasion to doubt the story they told than he had to doubt the venerated records which proved the prerogatives of the Crown, the jurisdiction of the courts of law, and the privileges of the peerage. Without keeping this fact ever in view, it is impossible rightly to understand the conduct of English statesmen throughout the history of Queen Mary. Perhaps none of them contemplated an offensive or oppressive use of the feudal supremacy. It was to be employed magnanimously in the construction of one grand empire out of the two nations. We have already found Cecil projecting beneficent projects to be wrought out by England's supremacy. If there was something of the domineering and the intermeddling in the conduct of England, it would all come forth as moderation and duty when the removal of prejudices gave freedom for explanation.

Meanwhile it was necessary so long as possible to conceal this motive-influence from the unreasonable and irritable Scots. Up to the point we have reached in the negotiations about Queen Mary, it is repeatedly referred to in the instructions and other documents intended solely for English eyes—never in those which had to pass into Scotland. A juncture, however, had now come when it appears to have been considered that the danger must be faced. Perhaps a protest by Queen Mary's commissioners, that their mistress, in seeking the intervention of her good

sister, did not as a sovereign princess recognise any judge on earth, may have rendered an appeal to the supremacy a technical necessity. At all events the Queen of England's commissioners protested, as to the claim of the Queen of Scots, "that they neither did nor would admit nor allow the same to be in any wise hurtful or prejudicial to the right title and interest incident to the crown of England, which the queen's majesty and all her noble progenitors, kings of this realm, have claimed, had, and enjoyed, as superiors over the realm of Scotland." [1]

The commissioners, reporting to their mistress, told the result in these curious terms: "And so we passed over the matter with them in merry and pleasant speeches, not yielding to their opinion nor they to ours touching the matter contained in our said protestation." [2] One who had good means of information tells us that when the matter of supremacy and homage was pressed upon the commissioners of the young king, an angry flush passed over Murray's face; but Lethington seized the opportunity for the display of one of his favourite accomplishments, and flung back a scornful answer, fitted to drive the proposal out of the range of serious business: it would be time to adjust the question of homage when the lands between the Humber and the Tweed, for which it had been rendered, were restored to the crown of Scotland; "but as to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, it was freer than England had been lately, when it paid St Peter's penny to the Paip." [3] It is a feature in all the codes of law rooted in feudal usages, that claims which there is no intention and perhaps no ability to enforce, must at all events be stated at intervals to save them from extinction, the acquiescence of the opposite party not being necessary for the preservation of the latent vitality. The policy of the English commissioners seems to have been modelled on such precedents.

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[1] Anderson, iv. (2) 50. [2] Ibid., 42.
[3] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, 206.

CHAPTER LII.

REGENCY OF MURRAY.

(Continued.)

OPENING OF THE INQUIRY — THE CHARGE OF REBELLION AGAINST MURRAY AND HIS PARTY—THEIR DEFENCE INVOLVING A COUNTER-CHARGE, BUT RESERVING THE CHARGE OF MURDER—THE REMOVAL OF THE INQUIRY TO LONDON — THE ENDEAVOURS TO DISCOVER WHAT THE RESULT WOULD BE WERE THE CHARGE MADE AND PROVED—PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS OF THE CASKET LETTERS—QUEEN MARY'S CONFERENCES WITH THE BISHOP OF ROSS ON THE SAFEST COURSE—DIRECTS ANY CHARGES AGAINST HER TO BE DENIED—LETHINGTON'S MACHINATIONS — THE DUKE OF NORFOLK — HIS ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE CHARGES, AND HIS PROFFERS TO QUEEN MARY — THE POLICY OF SUCH A MARRIAGE CONSIDERED — THE RESERVATION OF THE PUBLIC CHARGE OF MURDER — MADE AT LAST—THE EFFECT ON THE DISCUSSIONS—THE BOOK OF ARTICLES—THE PRODUCTION OF THE CASKET LETTERS—TENDERING OF THE TESTIMONY OF THOMAS CRAUFURD AS TO THE MEETING IN GLASGOW — PERPLEXITIES OF THE BISHOP OF ROSS — THE INQUIRY GRADUALLY CLOSES—INCOMPLETENESS OF THE APPARENT RESULTS —REAL RESULTS BEHIND THEM—THE CAREER OF BOTHWELL—HIS FLIGHT—IMPRISONMENT IN NORWAY AND DENMARK—HIS DANISH WIFE — HIS OFFERS TO RESTORE ORKNEY AND SHETLAND — HIS DEATH.

So began the great process which, standing, as it does, alone in feudal history with no precedent, has naturally enough excited much discussion on the question whether it was lawful or unlawful. It must have made an animated scene in York. As bitter enemies had to walk the streets and meet each other, anxious arrangements were made by the English Government for the preservation of the peace,

and they appear to have been successful. Many were there besides the commissioners and the necessary staff of officers. Murray had with him Macgill, Buchanan, and, as we have seen, Lethington. It was said that the regent was afraid to leave this versatile man behind lest he should work mischief; but, as we shall see, he might have had less opportunity for such work at home than he found in England.

Besides the Scots commissioners, who were supposed to represent public interests, another accuser was at work whose motives were avowedly of a narrower kind. This was Lennox, the father of the murdered Darnley. We have seen how his efforts to bring Bothwell to justice were baffled. It was but natural, after what had passed then and since, that he should help the combination against her who had first shielded and then married the murderer of his son. He was in a position to know all. He knew the story told by the casket letters, and had peculiar facilities for deciding whether they were genuine or false, since, as we have seen, he had in his possession a report, set down by another observer, of the conversations detailed in them. If the letters were forged to shape them to this report, or if this report had been adjusted to confirm the story told in the letters, Lennox must have known the real truth. Whatever he believed, there are traces that he busied himself in collecting collateral evidence, tending not merely to support the joint story of the casket letters and of his own adherent, but otherwise to bring home guilty conclusions against his son's widow.[1]

When in point of form the controversy had begun, it was in form only. The two parties pretended to attack

[1] Notes on the Hamilton Papers by George Chalmers, edited by Joseph Robertson for the Maitland Club Miscellany, vol. iv. part i. "He calls the queen the destroyer of his family, and of all his friends and servants, of which he says there is sufficiency in her own hand-writ, by the faith of her letters, to condemn her. Nevertheless he would have them, by all possible methods, to search for more matters, not only against her, but against all those who had come thither (to England) in company with her, and by what means the articles which he had sent them might be made out."—P. 118.

and defend under a tacit understanding that the real contest should be deferred. The chief reason for this was that the assurance as to the ultimate steps to be taken in the event of Queen Mary's guilt being proved was only partially satisfactory. Elizabeth had changed her tone, and had said what would have been sufficient to commit a more scrupulous person to the desired course of action; but Murray, knowing by bitter experience with whom he had to deal, required stronger assurances before he took that step which, in the understanding of all concerned, was to close the door against all possibility of reconciliation between the two great parties in Scotland—the step of publicly charging the Queen of Scots with murder at that tribunal which the Queen of England had set up. Whether Murray's party ought to have felt satisfied was matter of much discussion among the commissioners. It seems needless to enter on an analysis of their subtle altercations, and to be sufficient to give in its place the demand ultimately made by Murray's party.

The etiquette by which Elizabeth professed to guard the sovereign dignity of the queen who was yet to plead before her was formally observed. She was to be the accuser, and her subjects were to be heard only in their defence. The queen accordingly made her charge of rebellion. The point of time at which her narrative begins is that of the assemblage at Carberry Hill, so that she has no occasion to refer to the murder of her husband or the existence of such a person as Bothwell. In brief formal terms it is told how she was forcibly conveyed to prison, and how on her escape she was again assailed by force. These undutiful acts in the end compelled her to come to England, to require of the queen her nearest relation "favour and support, that she may enjoy peaceably her realm according to God's calling, and that they her subjects may be caused recognise their dutiful obedience." There is no demand for punishment or outburst of revengeful wrath; and those partial to such close examinations would find an interest in comparing this document with the passionate and fierce appeals made by Queen Mary to her friends abroad and to Elizabeth herself

Murray and his colleagues made answer, going farther back. They mention the murder, saying it was committed by Bothwell, and was followed by his "attaining to" a marriage with the queen. These things are briefly and gently told as the cause of what followed. Her unfortunate position demanded their intervention, and compelled them "to sequestrate her person for a season." Then, weary of spirit, she abdicated her crown in favour of her son, and authorised her brother to act for him as regent. All this was confirmed in Parliament; and the new Government was duly honoured and obeyed, until certain evil-minded persons, "disdaining to see justice proceed as it was begun, and likely to have continued, to the punishment of many offenders over the haill country," practised to reinstate the power of the ex-queen, contrary to the Act of Parliament and the established rule over the land. Thereupon they require that the king and regent in his behalf "may peaceably enjoy and govern his realm according to God's calling, and that his majesty's disobedient subjects may be caused recognise their debtful obedience." There is a reservation that the commissioners may "eke" or add to their statement; and what they did eke was, as we shall find, far more important than the statement itself.

Before issuing their defence, these commissioners had prepared a document of a different kind. The charge was issued on the 8th of October, and next day Murray laid on the table a set of "articles" or "demands." The first was, "We desire to be resolved whether ye have commission and sufficient authority from the queen's majesty of England to pronounce in the cause of the murder guilty or not guilty, according to the merits of the cause, and as ye shall see matter deduced before you." The reasons for such a demand have already been discussed. The articles demand an anticipation of the result. If the decision be "guilty," will she be either delivered to the Scots Government, or detained in England so as to be kept from mischief? and will the Queen of England concur in what has been done in Scotland since the meeting

at Carberry Hill, and honestly support the young king's rule, as established by Act of Parliament?

On the 11th Queen Elizabeth's commissioners wrote to her a remarkable letter. They call attention to the Scots commissioners' articles as matters on which it was but reasonable that the Scots should desire to be satisfied before they made their full charge. But there is matter of deeper interest in the letter. The English commissioners were privately shown the contents of the casket; and they give a description of them, and of the effect produced on those who saw them. After mentioning several of the documents in their order, the English commissioners say: "Afterwards they showed unto us one horrible and long letter of her own hand, as they say, containing foul matter, and abominable to be either thought of or to be written by a prince, with divers fond ballads of her own hand; which letters, ballads, and other writings before specified, were closed in a little coffer of silver, and gilt, heretofore given by her to Bothwell. The said ballads and letters do discover such inordinate love between her and Bothwell, her loathsomeness and abhorring of her husband that was murdered, in such sort as every good and godly man will not but detest and abhor the same. And these men here do constantly affirm the said letters and other writings produced of her own hand to be of her own hand indeed, and do offer to swear and take their oaths thereupon, the matter contained in them being such as could hardly be invented or devised by any other than by herself; for that they discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than to herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner how these men came by them, is such as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder and bloodshed of the innocent is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed." It is clear that these men, who were not fools, were at once convinced that a true story had been revealed to them.

The qualification that they have but the word of the Scots commissioners for the handwriting being Queen

Mary's is frequently repeated, but it is pretty clear that the commissioners had not much doubt on the point. The tone of their letter creates one of the minor mysteries of the drama. It is evidently the writing of men who have become acquainted for the first time with the tenor of the casket documents; and yet, as we have seen, Murray sent a copy of these for their instruction. They noted, for the use of their mistress, "the chief and special points of the said letters," a task that would have been unnecessary had a full copy of them been for some time in their own and their queen's hands. These notes contain extracts, the effect of which, as we have already seen, has been to preserve the most flagrant passages of the documents, and so to show that any subsequent tampering with them would have been a useless act.[1] The notes are sent, as they say, "to the intent it may please your majesty to consider of them, and so to judge whether the same be sufficient to convince her of the detestable crime of the murder of her husband, which in our opinion and consciences, if the said letters be written with her own hand, is very hard to be avoided; most humbly beseeching your majesty that it may please the same to advertise us of your opinion and judgment thereon, and to direct us, with such speed as to your highness shall be thought convenient, how we shall proceed farther in this great matter."

It has to be remembered that this private revelation to the English commissioners of the casket documents was made that Murray's party might feel their way before they did that which was to close the door of reconciliation—before they brought up the charge of murder as one of the points to be investigated by the commission. It was to be a thoroughly confidential matter between the two groups of commissioners, as if they were private persons giving information to each other on a delicate affair. Murray's party believed that they had buried this conference in dead secrecy, but Queen Mary's commissioners discovered it. They immediately told it to her, and she fashioned her

[1] See chap. xlvii.

policy accordingly.[1] Nothing that the English commissioners could say sufficed to place Murray's party at ease about the great question, What if all were proved? The reading of the involved and hesitating assurances given to them is apt to excite a sympathy with their suspicion; for it is clear that the English commissioners were not themselves assured, and were afraid to use clear honest words, if these were to commit their mistress to a course of action. At length there arrived a document which looks as if it ought to have satisfied the suspicious Scots. It contained a specific answer to each of Murray's articles. On the question whether the commissioners have authority to decide guilty or not guilty, it is answered that they have. On the question as to what would be done if the finding were "guilty," the assurance is, "If the Queen of Scots shall be justly proved and found guilty of the murder of her husband, which were much to be lamented, she shall be either delivered into your hands upon good and sufficient sureties and assurances for the safety of her life and good usage of her, or else she shall continue keeped in England upon the reasonable charges of the crown of Scotland, in such sort that neither the prince her son, nor you the Earl of Murray, nor any other, for holding part or maintaining the said prince, shall be in any danger by her liberty." On the question how far she would support the existing Government, the answer was, that as to the past, she would "allow the proceedings," as far as these could be shown "to have been lawful by the former laws of Scotland" in force when they were done. For the future, her majesty, "according to the said laws of Scotland, and in respect of the demission of the crown made by her to the said prince her son, if the same may be proven, will maintain the authority of the same prince to be the king; and the regiment of the said realm now being in the possession of you, the Earl of Murray, until it shall and may be also duly proved by the laws of the said realm that any other person of that realm ought by right to be regent or

[1] Knollys to Norfolk; Goodall, ii. 159.

governor of the same, or that any other form of government ought to be there used or allowed."

These were distinct answers; yet a shade of dubiety was thrown across them by a preamble, where their author, while she freely announces her good intention, "yet she meaneth not nor will that any person do thereof interpret that thereby the said Earl of Murray, or any with him, should be boldened, moved, or anywise comforted to enter into accusation of the said queen for any crime or suspicion of crime; for that her majesty principally wishes that, upon the hearing of this great cause, the honour and estate of the said Queen of Scots were preserved and found sincerely sound, whole, and firm."[1]

Before this paper was received the place of meeting of the conference had been changed, and other events had occurred to influence its character. For these we must look outside of the conference itself. Before, however, bringing up this branch of the narrative, it may be right to mention two passages of a secondary kind standing on the record of the conference. One of these was the rejoinder by Queen Mary's commissioners to the defence of Murray and his party. Within the limits to which the contest was restricted, it was full and persuasive. She was a sovereign, and her subjects had rebelled against her; this was the text, and the discourse distinctly brought it forth in detail.[2] The other document was a letter of special instruction by Queen Elizabeth to her commissioners. These unhappy men, if they had not known all too well the voice which spoke to them, might well have said, in the words of Scripture, "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?" To abbreviate the meaning of sentences so adjusted as not to have a meaning is impracticable, and it would not aid the narrative to introduce such a document in full. It is more suitable as a study in royal or feminine correspondence than an aid to the reader, who could only be as much perplexed by its contents as were those to whom it was addressed. She desires certain members of all the three commissions to come to

[1] Anderson, iv. (2) 109, 113. [2] Ibid., 80.

her and discuss the matters referred to in the letter. That in her verbal communings she dispelled the darkness of her written sentences is not known, nor is it to be inferred from the conduct of her advisers, which was that of men in sore perplexity who wist not what to do. On one point there is a distinct announcement; but its distinctness is as curious and perverse as the cloudiness of the others: "In the dealing herein ye shall do well to have good regard that none of the Queen of Scots' commissioners may gather any doubt of any evil success of her cause, but that they may imagine this conference of ours principally to be meant how her restitution may be devised with surety of the prince her son and the nobility that have adhered to him."[1] It will be noticed that not only does Queen Elizabeth here give no intimation that she will in any case further the restoration of Queen Mary, but she does not empower her commissioners to say that she will. They are only to have good regard that Queen Mary's commissioners shall "imagine" such a result.

In November the conference was removed from York to London by Queen Elizabeth's order. The reasons for this step are set forth with the usual cloudy elaborateness; but it were needless to repeat them here, as there is no chance that the true reason may be found among them. This, indeed, must rather be inferred from the separate occurrences now to be looked into. The inquiry at this point assumed a more august shape. It was to be held before the Queen of England in Council. Those named for the special duty were Sir Nicholas Bacon the Lord Keeper, Norfolk, the Lords Arundel, Sussex, Leicester, Lord Clinton and Saye, Cecil, and Sadler. The two sets of Scots commissioners continued as they were, and consequently the increase in number and rank of the English commissioners detracted somewhat from the character of a conference where all were on an equality, and assumed the air of a high court of justice. Guarding as well as they could against such appearances, Queen Mary's representatives objected to the holding of the meetings in the

[1] Goodall, ii. 172.

Painted Chamber, or in any other place where courts of law were in use to be held, or judicial business at any time transacted. To humour them Hampton Court was selected as the place. By an ingenious turn in their phraseology, Leslie and his brethren did still more to preserve their position. They spoke as ambassadors of a sovereign prince who met in equal conference with the representatives of another sovereign.

Down to the 26th of November the great charge had not yet been publicly made. Queen Mary was conscious that her enemies were approaching it, and in a manner flickering round it. At this critical juncture her conduct and deportment deserve all attention.

Her attached counsellor, Leslie, Bishop of Ross, was reluctantly compelled at Norfolk's trial to give an account of his intercourse with his mistress since her arrival in England. He came to her at Bolton about the 18th of September, and discussed the prospects of the conference with her. He found her expectation to be, that Murray and the others were to be arraigned for their undutiful conduct; and then there was to be a compromise, and they were to be received into favour by the intervention of Queen Elizabeth. The bishop took a different view. He showed her that if her enemies were provoked they would tell all, and regretted that she had allowed a conference: "I was sorry that she had agreed to any conference wherein they should be accused, for I was assured in that case they would utter all they could for their defence, although it were to her dishonour and that of the whole realm, for they would be loath to confess openly that they were evil subjects and she a good princess; and therefore I wished that the whole matter should first be treated by way of concord and agreement." There is something ominously suggestive in her best friend and supporter thus instantly reaching the conclusion that her enemies knew that which would put her in their power, and that it was dangerous to provoke them. Scarcely less suggestive was her reception of this warning. There was no haughty defiance of threatened calumny: "The queen replied that there was no such danger in the matter as I supposed;

for she trusted I would find the judges favourable, principally the Duke of Norfolk, who was first in commission; and doubted not that the Earl of Sussex would be ruled by him as his tender friend, and Sir Ralph Sadler would not gainstand their advices."

The bishop goes on to tell with more minuteness the influences at work to this end, and the manner of the capture of Norfolk. In the midst of these secondary matters he describes an interview between himself and Norfolk: "I talked with the duke alone in a gallery, where he uttered to me he bore goodwill to the queen my mistress, and that he had talked with the Earl of Murray and Lethington at length, and had seen the letters which they had to produce against the queen my mistress, and other defences, whereby there would such matter be proven against her that would dishonour her for ever; and if it were once published, the queen's majesty of England would get counsel by such as loved not my mistress to publish the same to the world, and to send ambassadors to all other Christian princes to make the same known to them, that they could make no further suit for her delivery, and perhaps greater rigour might ensue to her person." It was one of Lethington's subtle suggestions that she might grant a confirmation of the abdication signed at Lochleven. As she was in durance, the confirmation would be as worthless as the original, and both might be abjured at the right time. To this the duke answered, "What if that were done to get quit of the present infamy and slander, and let him work the rest?"[1]

Among those who watched for the signs of coming events at Court, some had supposed that it would please Queen Elizabeth were her rival married to some suitable English subject. They thought it likely that she would take it well that he should be selected from her own kindred on the mother's side; it would be an advancement in rank to them, and there were no other persons of power and influence in the country over whom she had so strong a personal control. But there was a powerful sub-

[1] Murdin's State Papers, 52, 53; State Trials, i. 975, 976.

ject who desired this honour for himself, even the Duke of Norfolk, the head of the commission. He had managed at a very early period to let her understand his views; for when she told Leslie the reasons for her sanguine prospects, one of them was, that "she understood of the duke's goodwill towards her, and the bruit was else spread abroad of a marriage betwixt the duke and her." At the same time the bishop tells that, in a conference with Lethington and Sir Robert Melville, on which they "talked almost a whole night," Lethington told him how "he had conferred with the duke, who seemed to have great goodwill to the queen my mistress, and had willed him to counsel the Earl of Murray and others to abstain from uttering any dishonest matter against the queen, but to grow to some composition among themselves; so that Lethington said it appeared to him that the duke had some intention of marriage with the queen, as the bruit was, and their party did wholly suspect some such like matter, and that he did verily believe that if it were followed the marriage would take effect, which would be most of all other things for the queen's honour and well."[1]

[1] Murdin, 53. Bishop Leslie appears to have been the man who was deepest in the secrets about the project of the Norfolk marriage. A reader of his "Negotiations" might suppose him to say that it was encouraged by Queen Elizabeth and her Government as a serious object of English policy. The admission that it was otherwise is so casual that a careless reader might fail to notice it. Lord Boyd having come to him with Queen Mary's answers about the several matters under discussion, he says, "He and I conferred divers times with the Queen of England upon the contents thereof, saving the purpose of the marriage, whereupon the nobility and Council did treat with us, whom we thought credible that they would never have done unless they had made the queen their mistress privy thereto." Then, taking the tone of a man who, though he cannot distinctly charge any of them with falsehood or deceit, complains that the position of the men he dealt with, and the tone assumed by them, led him to expect results other than what occurred, he enumerates the magnates according to their heraldic rank, from Norfolk down to "the Earl of Leicester, great master of her horses, and most tender unto her," concluding that they were altogether persons "whose authority and credit were sufficient for us to deal with them."—Anderson, iii. 54, 55. The important words in this statement are "saving the purpose

The new suitor had avowed his belief in her guilt. He was a party to that report by the commissioners about the casket letters, which leans so strongly to a belief in their genuineness, and speaks with so much horror of the wickedness they reveal. In putting his signature to this document, he might have only certified the expressions and opinions of his colleagues; but elsewhere he goes out of his way to speak in the same tone. So in a letter to Pembroke, Leicester, and Cecil collectively: "There is but two ways to be taken—the one, if the fact shall be thought as detestable and manifest to you, as for aught we can perceive it seemeth here to us, that condign judgment, with open demonstration to the whole world, with the whole circumstances, and plain, true, and indifferent proceedings therein, may directly appear; of which, for our own discharge, we do not omit to keep good and sufficient memorials, not forgetting with what manner of person we have to deal, nor yet how the upright handling of this cause shall import us both in honour and honesty to the whole world. The other is, if her majesty shall not allow of this, then to take such composition as in so broken a cause may be."[1]

It is natural to connect with this affair a sudden change in the captive's designs about Bothwell. Heretofore she has been found to spurn with angry disdain all suggestions to repudiate him. But on the 21st of October she gives authority that if the illegality of that marriage be mooted, "ye shall answer that we are content that the laws be sued for separation thereof, so far as the same will permit."[2] In fact she granted a commission to Lord Boyd to sue out a divorce in her name, because her marriage with Bothwell "was for divers respects unlawful," and "the same does touch us so highly in honour and conscience, that it daily and hourly vexes our conscience."[3]

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of the marriage," showing that this was not an article in these negotiations.

[1] Anderson, iv. (2) 78. The "good and sufficient memorials" were doubtless the notes of the casket documents preserved by the commissioners, already mentioned.

[2] Labanoff, ii. 221.

[3] Boyd Papers, 24.

The wooing of Norfolk and the fugitive queen is one of the mysterious passages in history. There is an unpleasant indistinctness as to the policy or motive influencing either the principal actors in it or their abettors. We know so much of its secret movements as that Murray favoured it; but we cannot now tell why he should have done so, and contemporaries seem to have been equally puzzled. The perplexed speculator is tempted to seek refuge in the fact that the marriage was a pet scheme of Lethington's. What cannot be explained from the political conditions of the period is accounted for by the nature of the moving spirit. For the other actors of the time we find some motive in the broad face of politics: they were influenced by selfishness, or ambition, or zeal; they wanted wealth, or promotion, or the aggrandisement of family or party. The broadest and the purest motives among them were patriotism and religious zeal. But Lethington took his inspiration from the lamp. He tried such motive influences in politics as he found in the works of classical and Italian politicians. Among the common politicians of the day he was like an alchymist acquainted with formidable chemical combinations unknown to others, and not so well at his own command but that the result was often explosive and disastrous. On one point he might be trusted—he was patriotic. The honour of Scotland was safe in his keeping, safe from any design against it, though not from imprudent meddling. It has been said, indeed, in a quarter worthy of all respect, that the great passion of his life and the inspirer of his restless energies was the desire to see the house of Stewart reigning over England.[1]

With this caution against any attempt to draw an absolute conclusion, it may not be amiss to sketch the considerations most likely to be uppermost in such a scheming brain. There still dwelt among the English aristocracy that proud republican tone which had incited them to the barons' wars, and taught them to treat the monarch as chief among themselves rather than as a star

[1] Froude, x. 32, 90.

apart. The clergy had been promulgating the divine-right doctrines of the civilians; and even the common-lawyers had imbibed them, and were becoming servile to the Court. Since the beginning of the Tudor dynasty the power and dignity of the aristocracy had been sapped in many ways. Men of obscure origin, like Cromwell and Cecil, had lorded it over them, and become supreme in the State. Henry's marriage with the queen's mother had brought a whole troop of obscure relations to the steps of the throne. Norfolk was chief among the proud old nobility who had to bear all this, and was the natural man to head an effort for redress. To drive the present occupant from the throne, and place another there who would accept of the charge under conditions, was an almost constitutional form of redress in England; and such an effort would be favoured by the adherents of the old Church. Thus might Lethington see his vision of a Scots sovereign ruling England realised. Had it come up while Mary's character was still unstained, it might have had a good chance of success; but that it should now be available was an idea fit only for the restless mind of Lethington, if it really was the idea entertained by him. But even if we can in any satisfactory fashion adapt the project to the mind of Lethington, it is hard to see where there could have been room for it in the harder head of Murray. We must, it is feared, impute but a poor and unheroic motive to any countenance he gave it, and hold it to concur with the story that he was threatened with assassination near Northallerton, and that he was content to play such a part as would secure the protection of Norfolk, the potentate of the north of England. This affair was the chief new element in the great cause when it found its way to London.

It will be remembered that the fatal charge had not yet been uttered. Familiar with it as a statement bandied about in the documents of the time, it takes consideration to realise the fact that it should yet be to be made. We know that it stood on the records of the Scots Privy Council, that it was declared in an Act of the Scots Parliament, and that it was freely talked over by all the commissioners;

yet we are bound to believe that the actual tabling of the charge in express words would be a crisis to all concerned. It was one fondly hoped against to the last by Queen Mary and her advisers, and to the accusers themselves it was a step pondered over as a perilous necessity. It would appear, that for all that had been done before, this was the one remaining step necessary as a public arraignment before the Courts of Europe. The minutes of the Privy Council, and even the Act of Parliament, would be at the command of the Government of the day. In fact, if the queen had been restored with full authority, both the Privy Council and the Estates of Parliament would be treated as illegal bodies, and their proceedings would be waste paper. And as to the mere scandal privately circulated among the commissioners and the members of the Scots Estates—how lightly that might be treated we may infer from the conduct of Norfolk, who desired that things should remain as they were, so as to let his wooing proceed with decorum.

It must not be entirely overlooked, among the reasons against the public accusation, that the claims of the house of Stewart on the succession to the English throne were admitted by others than the stern Romanists who desired the removal of Elizabeth. Queen Mary was her legitimate successor, and if the succession should open in the course of nature, it would be an awkward contingency that she had been charged with murder. The succession was more likely to open to her son than to herself; and people who looked forward to the infant prince of Scotland as the possible King of England, foresaw that to him the accusation might carry matter of probable trouble and scandal, in his dealings with those who had charged his mother before the Privy Council of England with the murder of his father. According to Sir James Melville, Norfolk put it to Murray in these terms: "Albeit she had done or suffered harm to be done unto the king her husband, there was respect to be had unto the prince her son, whilk he for his part, and many in England, had, as Mester Melville, who had been late ambassador there, could testify; and therefore wished that the queen should

not be accused nor dishonoured for the king her son's cause, and for the respect of the right they both had to succeed unto the crown of England." [1]

The external tone of the English commissioners is that of men impatient of time wasted, who ask why the threatened charge is delayed. The Scots should be brought to explain "why they do forbear in their answer to charge the queen with the guiltiness of the murder, considering their party have always given it out to the world that she is guilty." [2] Still, through these and other general invitations, the Scots hesitated to make the fatal accusation. We are told by Melville, who had good opportunities of knowing the secret movements, that Norfolk was the chief cause of this hesitation. While the others called on Murray not to doubt the fairly-avowed intentions of a queen, he recommended that no reliance should be placed on any promise of Elizabeth that was not signed by herself, and also sealed. Anything short of this she would treat as words or paper wasted. For this advice, Norfolk, if he gave it, is not to be charged with the sordid motive of trying to save a shred of the reputation of the woman whom he desired to marry. If he thoroughly believed that the assurances he was authorised to give would be repudiated, he knew that he dared not lay the blame of this repudiation on his unscrupulous mistress. It was doing something, then, to save the honour of himself and his colleagues, as well as obviating mischief elsewhere, if he could get the Scots to remain suspicious.

It was on the 26th of November that there came the full assurance already referred to—the assurance that the English commissioners were authorised to find guilty or not guilty, and to act on the decision. On the same day the proceedings of the conference bear the weight of the great accusation. Even yet Norfolk seems to have dissuaded and Murray to have hesitated. The others of the Scots commission, however, were desirous that it should be tabled; the bulk of the English were equally desirous to have it. If we may believe a strange story told by

[1] Memoirs of his own Life. 208.

[2] Goodall, ii. 180.

Melville, the impatient majority got hold of the document, which Murray's secretary, Wood, held in his hand, and passed it over to the English commissioners.[1]

The great accusation lies, as a brief unobtrusive docu-

[1] We are to suppose that the other commissioners were prepared to press on Murray to tender the accusation when Norfolk asked for it: "Sa soon as he with his Council were within the council-house, the Duke of Norfolk askit for the accusation. The regent desired again the assurance of the conviction, by writ and seal, as said is. It was answered again, that the quenis majesty's word, being a true princess, wald be sufficient anough. Then all the Council cried out, Would he mistrust the quen, wha had geven such proof of her friendschip to Scotland? The regent's Council cried out also on that same manner. Then the Secretary Cecil asked gen they had the accusation there? 'Yes,' said Master John Wood (with that he plucked it out of his bosom); 'bot I will not deliver it untill her majesty's handwrite and seal be delivered to my lord.' Then the Bishop of Orkeney cleaks the writ out of Master John Wood's hands. 'Let me have it; I shall present it,' said he. Master John ran after him as gen he would have had it again, or rive his claiths. Forward passed the bischop to the council-table, and gave in the accusation. Then said to him my Lord William Howard, chamberlan, 'Well done, Bishop Turpy! thou art the frackest fellow amang them; none of them all will make thy loup,' scorning him for his louping out of the Laird of Grange's ship. Master Henry Balnaves only had made resistance, and called for the Secretary Lethingtoun, who tarried without the council-house; bot sa soon as Master Henry Balnaves had callit for him, he came in, and roundit in the regent's ear that he had shamed himself, and put his life in peril by the loss of so good a friend, and his reputation for ever.

"The regent, who had been brought by his facility to break with the Duke of Norfolk, repented him again so soon as Lethingtoun had shown him the danger, and desired the accusation to be rendered to him again, alleging that he had some more to add unto it. But they said that they would hold that whilk they had, and were ready to receive any other addition when he pleased to give it in. The Duke of Norfolk had enough ado to keep his countenance. Master John Wood winked upon the Secretary Cecil, wha smiled again upon him; the rest of the regent's company were laughing upon other; the Secretary Lethingtoun had a sair heart. The regent came furth of the council-house with the tear in his eye, and passed to his lodging at Kingstoun, a mile from Court, where his factious friends had enough ado to comfort him."—Memoirs, 210-212.

The odd allusion to the agility of the Bishop of Orkney has to be explained by this, that he was in Grange's vessel in pursuit of Bothwell when it struck, and surprised those present by an agile leap on a rock, deemed a remarkable feat for a bishop.

ment, among the lengthy pleadings of the conference. In the other papers it is generally referred to as "the eke," being that eke or addition which the Scots commissioners reserved power to make to their defence against the charge of rebellion.[1] After some preliminary mutterings about their having been driven in self-defence to "manifest the naked truth," they say: "It is certain, and we bauldly and constantly affirm, that as James sometime Earl of Bothwell was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murther perpetrate on the person of umquhile King Henry of good memory, father to our sovereign lord, and the queen's lawful husband, so was she at the foreknowledge, counsel, device, persuader and commander of the said murder to be done, maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and stopping of the inquisition and punishment due for the same, according to the laws of the realm, and consequently by marriage with the said James sometime Earl of Bothwell, delated and universally esteemed chief author of the above-named murder; wherethrough they begouth [began] to use and exercise an uncouth and cruel tyranny in the hail state of the commonwealth, and with the first, as will appear by their proceedings, intended to cause the innocent prince now our sovereign lord shortly follow his father, and sua to transfer the crown fra the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant."[2]

When the crisis of the long-expected enunciation was over, it would seem as if Queen Elizabeth's advisers thought it well to leave her at her own wayward disposal. Up to this point there is a certain measured tread of deliberation in the conference, irresolute and unconclusive as the conduct of the English commissioners often is. But now arose all the vehement incoherence of a passionate woman, whose wrath has been excited from various opposite quarters, and who no sooner seeks to strike at one of her tormentors than she is restrained by the reflection that this will gratify and encourage the others. That a sister queen should have to defend herself against the

[1] See above, p. 426.

[2] Anderson, iv. (2) 130

accusations of her traitorous subjects seemed an outrage on royalty not to be tolerated; yet, unless her sister clear herself of the vile charges laid against her, she will be condemned to eternal infamy all over the world. Her sister's rebellious subjects must not be permitted to pursue such base accusations; yet, if they do not thoroughly prove the truth of what they have dared to assert, they must expect to suffer—in her own phraseology, "they shall smart for it."

On one point only is she distinct. The Queen of Scots cannot be received at the English Court until she has established her innocence of the vile charges raised against her. It is on this point of the personal interview that the two queens are quite distinct, as positive and negative. Queen Mary's utterances as to the accusation are rather neutral and indistinct, than incoherent like her sister's; but she appeals almost more urgently than ever for a private personal interview, at which she is to confound her calumniators and set her sister's mind at rest. Part of the solemn farce played on the occasion was that Murray and his party were to undergo a formal rebuke administered by the chief-justice. He said to them that "her highness thinketh very much and very strange that, being native subjects of the Queen of Scots, you should accuse her of so horrible a crime, odible both to God and man—a crime against law and nature, whereby if you should prove it true, she should be infamous to all princes in the world; and therefore hath willed us to say unto you, that although you in this doing have forgot your duties of allegiance towards your sovereign, yet her majesty meaneth not to forget the love of a good sister and of a good neighbour and friend. What you are to answer to this we are here ready to hear." Thus were they driven closer than ever into the position that the atrocity of the acts charged by them demanded that their proof of these acts should be conclusive.

They explained that they made their charge with reluctance, that they reserved it until it was forced from them by the reiterated charges of treason and rebellion laid against themselves. They then produced a document

sometimes called the "Book of Articles."[1] It classified the circumstances from which her guilt was to be inferred under five heads, and may in fact be called the indictment under which they proposed that their charge should be brought to a trial.[2]

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[1] Anderson, iv. (2) 148; Goodall, ii. 234.

[2] The Book of Articles is not printed in any of the older collections relating to Queen Mary, and it is not known to exist in any official or authenticated shape. In the "Hopetoun Manuscript," which contains several authentic papers ranging over the sixteenth century, there is a long paper written in the official hand of the period, which is supposed to be a copy of the Book of Articles. For the reasons set down below I did not concur in this view, even though it had been adopted by so skilful a critic as Mr Hosack. It was desirable, however, that the document should be laid before the world, that all who chose might form their opinion on the two questions,—the one, whether it really was the accusation laid on the table—the other, how far, whether as an official document or a private writing, it threw any light on the great question. I therefore felt it to be satisfactory that Mr Hosack considered it worthy of a place in his 'Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers,' and helped to facilitate his access to the manuscript from which it was taken.

On reading this paper, I had great difficulty in believing that it was deliberately laid before the decorous body of men, high in rank or office, who sat to hear what was said on either side. The tone and character of the paper are utterly at variance with the caution and reticence of Murray's party throughout. If this paper really was the one tabled by Murray's party, it does little credit either to their honesty or their skill. The prominent defect in Buchanan's Detection is, that it pushes secondary circumstances too closely home with special pleading. Here the defect is exaggerated—it covers the whole document; while we have no rush of energetic eloquence to sweep through such defects, as in the Detection. The great outlines of the tragedy are in fact smothered in paltry details; and the reading of such a paper to neutral persons would be less likely to impress them that a great crime had been committed, than that the authors of the paper were very angry and malignant. Compared with the Detection, it might pass for the brief or memorial prepared by the pottering attorney who has nothing but prejudice and spite to stimulate him; while the other is the harangue which the eloquent and artistic counsel has created out of the arid material set before him.

To the opinion so expressed I have adhered after having considered the able criticisms of Mr Hosack. I cannot but however rejoice that this, with the whole case, has been subjected to his acuteness. It was so overloaded with puerile pleading that it is eminently valuable to hear senior counsel on the merits. Of the other specimens of this class of literature, the best was the Life written by Mr Henry

Two steps had been taken. A charge of murder had been tabled. The particulars of the charge had followed after the ordinary procession of the practice in criminal trials. Next was to come the proof. After all their reticence, the king's party had now no resource but to bring home the murder to the queen or meet their own ruin. So the accumulated mass of documentary evidence passed in on the English Privy Councillors in a torrent. The documents produced were of various kinds,—Acts of the Scots Parliament and of the Privy Council—State trials connected with the murder; in general, all the successive documents which make up the history of the Court of Scotland since the death of Rizzio. The contents of the casket seem to have been produced in instalments. A copy was made of them, and the originals were inspected at the pleasure of the English commissioners, in order that when they had satisfied themselves the originals might be returned to those who produced them. It was thought fitting to enlarge the body of statesmen to whom these secrets were to be revealed, and some of the most

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Glassford Bell when he was twenty-two years old. The cause was one suitable to the championship of chivalrous youth, and he did his knight-errantry becomingly. Patrick Fraser Tytler, who was bound by hereditary obligation to follow on the same side, when he came into the depths of the case threw up his brief; perhaps it might be more just to say that he felt it incumbent on him to act the judge rather than the partisan. It is infinitely satisfactory to see in Mr Hosack's book, which has reached a second edition, the full compass of what can be said for such a cause, and to see it unsoiled by spasmodic eulogies and execrations. It is not the least valuable feature of such a book that it completes the order of literature to which it belongs; and we may now be content to think that we have seen the question argued out. The following is a very characteristic French compliment to Mr Hosack's merits—characteristic in this, that it honours him not as the impartial critic in search of the truth, but as the intrepid advocate who is fighting for a reputation, as in living practice the retained counsel struggles for the life of his client:—

"La cause de l'infortunée Marie Stuart a trouvé dans M. Hosack un nouveau défenseur aussi intrépide que prudent, et qui a mis au service de la Reine d'Ecosse le talent de l'avocat le plus consommé."—Gustave Masson, 'Marie Stuart au Tribunal de la Posteritie' (Revue des Questions Historiques, Jan. 1873, p. 252).

eminent English peers were commissioned to join them—Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick. All were bound over to profound secrecy. Of the manner in which the documents were examined the records of the Council say: "It is to be noted that at the time of the producing, showing, and reading of these foresaid writings, there was no special choice nor regard had to the order of the producing thereof; but the whole writings lying together upon the council-table, the same were, one after another, showed rather by hap as the same did lie upon the table, than with any choice made, as by the natures thereof, if the time had so served, might have been."[1]

The extent to which they satisfied themselves as to the genuineness of the casket documents is thus minuted. Having first dealt with the copies "of which letters the originals, supposed to be written with the Queen of Scots' own hand, were then also presently produced and perused, and being read, were duly conferred and compared for the manner of writing and fashion of orthography with sundry other letters long since heretofore written, and sent by the said Queen of Scots to the queen's majesty."[2]

Here they state that they had compared the letters; but they do not state specifically that the result was a belief in their genuineness. On the other hand, throughout the whole discussion—whether in the solemn proceedings of the conference, or in what is extant of the communings and correspondence of the parties engaged in it—no one will find, except in the instructions issued by Queen Mary before they were produced, the plea that the papers on which the charge was laid are forgeries. It would be difficult even to find a hint at such a possible solution of the great difficulty, a solution that would have brought joy to many affectionate hearts. If it should be said that Queen Mary herself, who knew best of all whether they were her true writings or forgeries, was the person who ought to have pronounced, but the documents

[1] Goodall, ii. 259. [2] Ibid., 256.

never came under her notice; then the alternative would be that her commissioners dared not tell her of them, and hence that they believed in them. But without doubt she knew from the beginning what sort of documents her enemies were prepared to produce if they found it necessary. It is said that Lethington having them for a time in his possession, his wife took a copy of them in one night. But whether this be a true story or not, we cannot doubt that Mary herself knew what the documents professed to be, and was silent on the question whether they were her own writing or forgeries.

In estimating the influence of contemporary abstinence from the distinct charge of forgery, we must remember that in 1571 the casket documents were published to all the world. They were full of little incidents and references to names of persons who could have come forward to maintain that the documents told false stories. If we set aside Lennox and his kinsman Craufurd as suspected persons, along with Joseph Rizzio, Paris, and Bastian,—we have the Laird of Minto, William Heigate, Livingston, Lady Reres, the Earl of Sutherland, Huntly, who is consulted about "the ravishment," Beaton, who carries the letter, being on his way to a "day of law," in which the Laird of Balfour is concerned, and "all the Hamiltons," who escort the queen. There must have been a crowd of witnesses available to contradict the many particularities in the casket documents had they been the work of a forger.

We must remember, in looking at the discussion, the difference between the substance of the letters and the inference drawn from them. There are repeated protestations in a general shape that the charges against the queen are false and calumnious; but it is never distinctly asserted, as it has so often been in later times, that the papers brought to support the charge were forged. There is a marked reluctance to speak distinctly about them. The nearest approach to a specific assertion about the character of these papers is where it is asserted by Mary's commissioners "that whatever thing was produced by her rebels" after the 6th day of December "was but invented

slanders and private writings, which could not prejudice her in any wise."[1]

Side by side with the casket letters it was natural that there should be tabled the report of Darnley's account of

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[1] Goodall, ii. 312. It seems clear that the term "invented" applies to the slanders, not the writings. The first person to repudiate the documents as actual fabrications or forgeries appears to have been Adam Blackwood writing in 1587. His book, called 'Martyre de Marie Stuart, Roine d'Escosse,' is reprinted in his 'Opera Omnia,' Paris, 1644, p. 505, and in Jebb, ii. 242. On the question whether during the holding of the conferences it was asserted that the casket papers were forgeries, the following passage in a letter from Sussex to Cecil claims notice: "This matter must at length take end, either by finding the Scotch queen guilty of the crimes that are objected against her, or by some manner of composition with a view of saving her honour. The first, I think, will hardly be attempted, for two causes—the one for that if her adverse party accuse her of the murder by producing of her letters, she will deny them, and accuse the most of them of manifest consent to the murder hardly to be denied; so as, upon the trial on both sides, her proofs will judicially fall best out as it is thought."—The Earl of Sussex to Sir William Cecil; Lodge's Illustrations of British History, i. 458. This letter is dated 22d October 1568, before the accusation had been made and the letters produced, and is to be held as an echo of Queen Mary's instruction to her commissioners. It is an anticipation of the position which Mary's advisers were likely to take; but it anticipates a far bolder position than they did actually take. We shall find that there was a feeble attempt to retaliate on her accusers with a charge of participation in the murder. It would have been less feeble had the other prediction been fulfilled which is imputed in the words "she will deny them." They were not denied, if we count this word to mean that they were to be denounced as forgeries.

A French author, who has recently entered on this controversy, professes to throw on it a blaze of light from Simancas. M. Jules Gauthier, in his 'Histoire de Marie Stuart' (ii. 116), says: "Une lettre de Guzman de Silva à Philippe II., citée pour le première fois, jette un jour nouveau sur ces mystérieux documents. Le 21 Juillet, il écrivait à Philippe II.: 'J'ai dit à la reine que j'étais informé que les lords avaient entre leurs mains certaines lettres, d'où il résultait que la Reine d'Ecosse avait su la mort de son mari. Elle m'a répondu que ce n'était pas vrai, bien plus que Lethington s'y était mal employé, et que si elle le voyait, elle lui dirait quelques paroles qui ne lui feraient pas grand plaisir:'" in the original, "Dixome que no era verdad, aun que Ledington avia tratado mal esto" (Archives de Simancas, leg. 819, fol. 108). The ambassador's story is likely to be true: if Queen Elizabeth uttered anything to him on the affair, it would be in disparagement of her royal sister's mutinous subjects. It is surely a

the conversation with his wife at Glasgow—that conversation which, if the casket letters were genuine, she reported to Bothwell. It lay with Lennox to bring up this morsel of testimony. We have seen that to all appearance he busied himself in collecting evidence against the woman whom he charged with the murder of his son. Closely as he was personally interested in the conference, he was no party to it; whatever share he took was like that of any other private person who could give assistance to the one party or the other. Hence whatever he may have done to stimulate the accusing party is not visible on the face of the proceedings. In sending his kinsman to watch the visit paid by the queen to his son, her husband, he had, however, unconsciously prepared fatal evidence against her. We have seen already how exactly his report of Darnley's narrative of the conversation tallies with that attributed to the queen in the casket letters. He had to report a preliminary conversation which he held with her on her way to the sick man's chamber, and this also corresponds with the tenor of the casket letters. Craufurd, the writer of this narrative, attended the conference as a witness. The paper was read over; and we are told in the official record, that after he had declared it on his

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testimony to single-hearted zeal of a high order, when one is content with so meagre a prize as the reward of researches in distant Simancas. But other searchers there have found more deleterious contributions to history. Those who read the political correspondence of the ambassadors and residents of the period know how full it is of wild and false rumours; and it is not when the story goes to a distant Court, where it is not likely to be closely tested, that it will be sifted by the teller.

It would be invidious to leave M. Gauthier's three volumes behind without a word on their peculiar merits. Unfortunately for the author, these are of a kind that will not supply a want in this country, while it is to be feared that they may not be duly appreciated in the author's own. He shows a close familiarity with all the sources of information in the Scots history of the period, and his history is a full, distinct, and, so far as I have observed, accurate work. It is not so closely biographical as that of his countryman Mignet, but for that reason would be all the more valuable to any foreigner desirous of knowing the history of the period without a full command of the English language. In the works of Mignet and Gauthier, French literature is endowed with two thoroughly good histories of the Scotland of Queen Mary's time, one on either side of the great controversy.

oath to be a true narrative, he explained "that as soon as the Queen of Scots had spoken with the king his master at Glasgow from time to time, he, the said Craufurd, was secretly informed by the king of all things which had passed betwixt the said queen and the king, to the intent he should report the same to the Earl of Lennox his master, because the said earl durst not then, for displeasure of the queen, come abroad; and that he did immediately at the same time write the same word by word as near as he possibly could carry the same away; and sure he was that the words now reported in his writing concerning the communication between the Queen of Scots and him upon the way near Glasgow are the very same words, in his conscience, that were spoken; and that others being reported to him by the king are the same in effect and substance as they were delivered by the king to him, though not percase in all parts the very words themselves."[1]

Thus Craufurd, with this paper in his hands, stood in the witness-box. He was not subjected to what is usually known as the cross-questioning of a witness, because Queen Mary's commissioners repudiated the position of a party pleading a cause. It was open, however, to the English Council to get what light or information they could by questions, and especially to harass him about his document if they doubted its honesty. In estimating the weight which his testimony is likely to have had at the conference, and the weight it ought to have at the present day, it is proper to look at his station and character. He was allied to the house of Lennox, and held his own place in the territorial hierarchy of the country as Laird of Jordanhill and head of a worshipful house. He was a great military commander, and we shall have to see him performing one of the most brilliant exploits of the day in the capture of Dumbarton Castle.[2]

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[1] Anderson, iv. 169.

[2] As some curiosity has been expressed about his statement, I subjoin it in full from the copy in the Record Office :—

"The words betwixt the Q. and me, Thomas Crawforde, bye the

After these critical stages, the record of the conference is that of a meeting which the several parties are desirous to wind up as decorously as may be. It is in what is left undone, rather than in what is done, that we find the

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waye as she came to Glasco to fetch the kinge, when mye L. mye master sent me to shewe her the cause whye he came not to meit her him sellfe.

"First, I made mye L. mye masteris humble commendations unto her matie., with the excuse that he came not to mete her; praing her grace not to thinke it was eather for proudnesse or yet for not knowinge hys duetye towardes her highnesse, but onelye for want of helthe at that present; and also that he woulde not presume to com in her presence untille he knewe farder her minde, because of the sharpe wordes that she had spoken of him to Robert Cunningham, hys servant, in Sterling, wherebye he thought he was in her matie.'s displesoure. Notwithstanding, he hath sent hys servauntis and friendis to waite upon her matie.

"She aunswered, that there was no receipt aganst feare.

"I aunswered, that mye L. had no feare for anie thinge he knewe in him sellfe, but onelye of the colde and unkinde words she had spoken to hys servant.

"She aunswered and said, that he woulde not be afraide in case he were not culpable.

"I aunswered, that I knew so farre of hys lordship that he desired nothinge more than that the secretts of everye creature's harte were written in their face.

"She asked me gif I had anie farder commission. I aunswered no.

"Then she commanded me to holde my peace.

"The wordes that I remember were betwixt the king and the Q. in Glasco, when she tooke him awaie to Edinbrowghe.

"The kinge, for that mye L. his father was then absent and sicke, bye reason whereof he could not speke with him him sellfe, called me unto him, and theise wordes that had then passed betwixt him and the quene he gave me in remembrance to reporte unto the said mye lord hys father.

"After theire metinge and schorte spekinge together, she asked him of hys lettres, wherein he complained of the crueltye of som.

"He aunswered, that he complained not without cause, and, as he beleved, she woulde graunte her sellfe when she was well advised.

"She asked him of hys sicknesse; he aunswered, that she was the cause thereof. And moreover, he saide, 'Ye asked me what I ment bye the crueltye specified in mye lettres; yat procedethe of yow onelye, that wille not accepte mye offres and repentance. I confesse that I have failed in som thingis, and yet greater faultes have bin made to yow sundrye times, which ye have forgiven. I am but yonge, and ye will saye ye have forgivne me diverse tymes. Maye

chief significance. The chance of a personal interview was now further off than ever. It was refused while there were evil rumours; and now there was a distinct charge, with evidence to support it, "wherein," as the English

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not a man of my age, for lacke of counselle, of which I am verye destitute, falle twise or thrise, and yet repent, and be chastised bye experience? Gif I have made anye faile that ye but thinke a faile, howe soever it be, I crave your pardone, and proteste that I shall never faile againe. I desire no other thinge but that we may be together as husband and wife. And if ye will not consent hereto, I desire never to rise forthe of this bed. Therefore, I praye yow, give me an aunswer hereunto. God knoweth howe I am punished for making my god of yow, and for having no other thought but on yow. And if at anie tyme I offend yow, ye are the cause; for that when anie offendeth me, if for refuge I might open mye minde to yow, I woulde speake to no other; but when anie thinge is spoken to me, and ye and I not beinge as husband and wife ought to be, necessite compelleth me to kepe it in my brest, and bringeth me in suche melancolye as ye see me in.'

"She aunswered, that it semed hym she was sorye for his sicknesse, and she woulde finde remedye therfore so sone as she might.

"She asked him whye he would have passed awaye in the Englishe shippe.

"He aunswered, that he had spoken with the Englishe man, but not of minde to goe awaie with him; and if he had, it had not bin without cause, consideringe howe he was used. For he had neather to susteine him sellfe nor hys servantes, and neded not make farder rehersalle thereof, seinge she knewe it as well as he.

"Then she asked him of the purpose of Hegate. He aunswered, it was tolde him.

"She required how and bye whome it was tolde him.

"He aunswered, that the L. of Minto tolde him that a lettre was presented to her in Cragmillar, made bye her owne divise, and subscribed bye certaine others, who desired her to subscrive the same, which she refused to doe; and he said that he woulde never thinke that she, who was hys owne propper fleshe, woulde do him anie hurte; and if anie other woulde do it, theye should bye it dere, unlesse theye tooke him slepinge, albeit he suspected none. So he desired her effectuouslye to beare him companye. For she ever founde som adoe to drawe her sellfe from him to her owne lodginge, and woulde never abyde with him paste two houres at once.

"She was verye pensiffe, whairat he found fault. He said to her that he was advertised she had brought a litter with her.

"She aunswered, that because she understoode he was not hable to ryde on horsebacke, she brought a litter that he might be carried more softlye.

"He aunswered, that it was not mete for a sick man to travell.

Council say, "they had seen such foul matters as they thought truly in their consciences that her majesty had just cause herein given" to answer as she did. The refusal of a meeting, it has to be observed, was not absolute.

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that coulde not sitt on horsebacke, and speciallye in so colde weather.

"She aunswered, that she would take him to Craigmillar, where she might be with him, and not farre from her sonne.

"He aunswered, that uppon condition he would goe with her, which was that he and she might be togeather at bedde and borde as husbande and wife, and that she should leave him no more. And if she would promise him that uppon her worde, he woulde goe with her where she pleased without respect of anye danger, eather of sicknesse wherein he was, or otherwise; but if she would not condescend thereto, he woulde not goe with her in anye wise.

"She aunswered, that her comminge was onelye to that effecte, and if she had not bin minded thereto, she had not com so farre to fetche him; and so she granted hys desire, and promised him that it should be as he had spoken, and thereuppon gave him her hande and faithe of her bodye that she woulde love him and use him as her husbande. Notwithstanding, before they coulde com togeather, he must be purged and clensed of hys sicknesse, which she trusted would be schortlye, for she minded to give him the bath at Craigmillar.

"Then he said he would doe whatsoever she would have him doe, and would love all that she loved.

"She required of him especiallie whom he loved of the nobilitie, and whom he hated.

"He aunswered, that he hated no man, and loved all alike well.

"She asked him howe he liked the Ladye Reresse, and if he were angrye with her.

"He aunswered, that he had litle minde of suche as she was, and wished of God she might serve her to her honour.

"Then she desired him to kepe to him sellfe the promise betwixt him and her, and to open it to no bodye; for peradventure the lordes woulde not thinke welle of their suddene agrement, considering he and thaye were at som wordes before.

"He aunswered, that he knew no cause whye they shoulde mislike of it, and desired her that she would not move anye of them againste him, even as he woulde stirre none againste her, and that thaye woulde worke both in one minde, otherwise it might turne to greater inconvenience to them bothe.

"She aunswered, that she never sought anye waie bye him, but he was in fault him sellfe.

"He aunswered agane, that hys faultes were published, and that there were that made greater faultes than ever he made that beleved were unknowne, and yet they would speke of greate and small.

"Farder, the kinge asked me at that present time what I thought

The granting it was made conditional on Queen Mary offering some satisfactory explanation of the appearances against her. Whether to induce her to be explicit, or to put her own conduct in a fair light, Queen Elizabeth offered her three methods of explanation, as follows :—

'The first is, Whether she will answer by you, her commissioners, or any others authorised by her thereto, before my commissioners, of those things whilk are laid to her charge.

"Secondly, If she will not do that, to answer by her own writing to the same.

"Thirdly, If she thinks not that to be done, let her answer to some noble whom I will send with commission to that effect, who has heard and reasoned the matter with the other party; and if she will not answer by any of these ways foresaid, it will be thought as much as she were culpable in the cause, and in that case I cannot with my honour admit her to my presence."[1] Queen Elizabeth at the same time wrote an ample letter to her captive, enjoining her, as she valued her good name, "not to forbear from answering" the accusations against her.

Her instructions to her commissioners were to refuse

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of his voyage. I aunswered, that I liked it not because she tooke him to Craigmillar. For if she had desired him with her sellfe, or to have had his companye, she would have taken him to hys own house in Edinburgh, where she might more easelye visitt him than to travelle two myles out of the towne to a gentleman's house. Therefore, mye opinion was that she tooke him awaye more like a prisoner than her husbande.

"He aunswered, that he thought litle lesse him sellfe, and feared him sellfe mikle, save the confidence he had in her promise onelye; notwithstandinge, he woulde goe with her, and put him sellfe in her handes, though she shoulde cutte hys throatt, and besought God to be judge unto them bothe."—State Papers—Scotch Correspondence, vol. xiii. No. 14. In an English hand of the time.

Mr Hosack's commentary on this document will be found in his 'Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers,' 192.

[1] Goodall, ii. 261. There are two versions of this answer printed beside each other by Goodall. The one is the minute of the English commissioners, supposed to have been revised by Cecil; the other is the note taken by the Bishop of Ross. The latter is the shorter of the two, and it is the one given above, as leaving no doubt regarding the shape in which the three offers were laid before Queen Mary.

to answer, and to withdraw from the conference. Still the poor Bishop of Ross offered a lingering protest against so dangerous a resolution; and again going over the well-trodden ground of the treachery and ingratitude of his mistress's rebels, pleads,—"Whilk being well weighed and considered by indifferent ears, they who so oft have been remitted by their sovereign for their heinous crimes shall not be found able to be competent accusers of their said sovereign; and doubts not, when your majesty has well digested and considered the hail matter, your highness will not admit such example prejudicial to all princes; and prays your majesty to remember the example of good emperors, and especially Trajan's, who would never suffer any man to speak evil of princes in his presence howbeit they had been dead, lat be to speak of others that are alive and absent."[1]

Before the conference died out, the Bishop of Ross and his colleagues took a course having at least the aspect of formidable menace. It was to recriminate, and charge Murray and his colleagues with the crime of which they had accused their sovereign. To Queen Mary's commissioners this was no course of their own choosing, and their inability to pursue it only tended to bring on them disaster and ridicule. They departed from the usual etiquette of advocates and representatives by continually avoiding personal responsibility in the matter, explaining with thorough distinctness that they made the charge merely in obedience to the order of her whom they were bound to obey. At a solemn meeting in conference Cecil brought up this new turn of the discussion by explaining how the counter-charge had been "bruited and slandered," and that Murray desired to be confronted with Queen Mary's commissioners, "to know whether they would accuse them or not for the said crime in the queen their mistress's name, or in their own names." Thus driven to a point, they said "they were expressly commanded by the queen their mistress to accuse the said Earl of Murray and others his adherents to be principal authors, inventors,

[1] Goodall, ii. 267.

doers, and some of them proper executors, of the foresaid murder." They were pressed closer than they desired with the question "if they or any of them would accuse the said earl in special, or any of his adherents, or thought them guilty thereof." In answer "they took God to witness" that none of them personally knew anything more of that black business than so far as it had transpired to the rest of the world. They were not prepared "to declare their thought and meaning whether the Earl of Murray and his company were clear or guilty thereof, for they did presently accuse in the queen's majesty their mistress's name." When she so instructed them, then they would enter on particulars.[1] They were somewhat alarmed by an offer on Murray's part to "pass to Bolton to the queen's own presence, to see if she would accuse them, whilk they believed she would not do;" but the offer was not accepted.

The bishop tells the story elsewhere, with some touches of individuality naturally excluded from the formal record: "The Earl of Murray was desirous to know if we would accuse him as participant of the murder. And first he inquired of me if I would accuse him, and take it upon my conscience that he was guilty of the murder; adding thereto, that albeit I would so do, he would not accuse me, nor take it upon his conscience that I was any way guilty or participant thereof. To the which I answered that I praised God, who had preserved me from such ungodly and cruel acts, and would be sorry to accuse any Scotsman of any such matter, both for honour of the nation and for my own estate and calling, for it was not decent for me to be an accuser. And yet, nevertheless, in respect that he had accused the queen our sovereign, I had just cause to affirm that he was ungrateful unto her for the many benefits which he had received of her liberal goodness to recompense her so unthankfully; and also at her command we had accused him, and had offered to prove the same; and as to mine own knowledge, I was not of that council, and therefore was not certain if he

[1] Goodall, ii. 308, 309.

was guilty or not further than by such information as I had received, wherein I would do the part of a faithful minister for defence of the queen my mistress's honour, and satisfying of her command." [1]

Some little personal squabbling attended this episode. Lindsay sent a cartel intimating that in accusing him Herries "lied in his throat." Herries had to answer that he made no accusation; but as the message came in threat and swagger, he must meet it in like form: "That ye were privy to it, Lord Lindsay, I know not; and if ye will say that I have specially spoken of you, ye lied in your throat." He admitted having said "there is, of that company present with the Earl of Murray guilty of that abominable treason in the foreknowledge and consent thereto." One can imagine this turn in the inquiry disturbing in some measure the nerves of Morton and Lethington. Perhaps it was in the chance of what might come of their getting a fright that the idea was adopted, and it is possible that it may have had its influence on the policy of Lethington, who was becoming an avowed queen's man.

Thus the conference lingered towards an ending by mere inanition, with no real business transacted. The prospect so opened seems on the whole to have been satisfactory to Queen Elizabeth's sage counsellors. The championship of the divinity of monarchy must bend to circumstances; and they helped to bend it by showing that in supporting Murray's Government there was the best security against many perils. There is extant a large and very instructive paper by Sadler explaining these perils. These come of the King of Spain, who may be kept off by work in the Netherlands and checks from the Protestant States of Germany, and the King of France, for whom work may turn up and be fostered through the Huguenot party; "and thus may your majesty provide for the two great enemies, to give them enough to do at home, even at their own doors." But suppose these monarchs should be able to retaliate by giving work at

[1] Leslie's Negotiations; Anderson, iii. 34.

home? "And if they may then find a queen in Scotland that pretendeth a title to the crown of England—who seeth not that she will be a ready and apt instrument to serve both theirs and also her own turn, when she may have had aid thereunto both by the Pope, the King of Spain, the French king, and also by the favour of your evil subjects here at home, the Papists, which to set up their Popish kingdom would not care to have a murderer and adulteress reign over them — marry, I trust your majesty will so provide that they shall find no such queen in Scotland." He therefore urges that "in this matter of Scotland no time would be omitted. Surely it is most expedient for your majesty to take that way, and to pretermit no occasion nor opportunity to entertain the amity of Scotland; for if the King of Spain or the French king do break with you, if they have any intention to offend or annoy your majesty, they have no way so fit or so proper for them to do it as by the way of Scotland. Keep them out of Scotland that they set not foot there, and your majesty shall have the less need to care for any offence or annoyance that they can do to your highness elsewhere." But if they are to be kept out of Scotland there must be a decided change in the policy of the Court of England: "Marry, if your majesty shall proceed coldly and indifferently, showing yourself indifferent betwixt both parties as you have done hitherto, whereby the one party may live in hope and the other in fear that you will restore the Queen of Scots—if your majesty shall proceed in that sort, then it must needs be, as hitherto indeed it hath been, a great hindrance to the cause, a great hindrance and prejudice both to your majesty and especially to that party which shall stand for your majesty and the young King of Scots." The advice thus supported is put briefly and clearly: "I must needs say, then, that it is expedient for your majesty to accept and allow of the State as you find it—that is, of the regiment established in the young King of Scots. Of the validity or invalidity of his title your majesty hath not to dispute, in my poor opinion, but to take him for a King as you find him." [1]

[1] Sadler's State Papers, ii. 562-569.

Other counsels, though less emphatic and distinct, pointed in the same direction. It was the interest of England to throw over Queen Mary and stand by Murray. The great difficulty in the way of this policy was the obstinacy of Queen Elizabeth on the divine right of sovereigns and the duty of subjects. The one fixed creed from which she had never varied was, that no act of misrule or wickedness on the part of her sister queen could justify the conduct of her adversaries. The political conditions —Mary a captive in England, her son nominally king, and Murray the leader of the Protestants virtually supreme— were all in themselves sound had they been brought righteously to pass. If it could all be undone and reconstructed by herself, it would be as legitimate as it was sound. Hence the concluding efforts of Queen Elizabeth and her advisers were in this direction; and nothing was overlooked that could help to bring the whole affair under the judicial revisal of the Queen of England. Even when Queen Mary asked for "doubles," or copies of all the papers produced against her, and an inspection of the originals, the answer was, that these requests would be conceded if Queen Mary would in proper form consent to meet the charges against her, and abide Queen Elizabeth's decision.[1]

In the perplexities of the conference this question is lost, and we have at last an adjustment suggested from Queen Elizabeth's side. It must be given in its own words, for all of these were evidently weighed and adjusted by skilful advisers:—

"That the queen there might be induced by some good persuasions, for avoiding of the great extremities whereunto her cause may bring her, to yield so as it might also appear of her own will, that by way of permission, that her son may continue in the state wherein he is; and the regiment also in the Earl of Murray, as already it is ordered by their Parliament; and herself to continue here in our realm during such time as we shall find convenient; and her son, nevertheless, for his safety, to be brought into

[1] Goodall, ii. 288-310.

this our realm, to be preserved and educated under the custody of persons of the birth of Scotland, for a certain space. And this whole cause of hers, whereof she hath been charged, to be committed to perpetual silence; and the cause of this her yielding and assent to be grounded and notified to proceed of her own goodwill, by reason of her weariness of governance, and of desire to see her son established, in such terms, to save her honour, as is at more length contained in the instrument devised for the demission of her crown whilst she was in Lochleven."[1]

It was a favourite practice with Queen Elizabeth, after she had instructed an ambassador or other representative concerning a very complex course of policy to be proposed by him in the quarter to which he was accredited, to conclude the whole with a recommendation that he should propose it as "from himself"—as his own suggestion, stimulated by a desire to avoid unpleasantness on either side. The present instruction was sent to that sorely-perplexed man Vice-Chamberlain Knollys. She tells him, "First, we would have you, whom we have just cause to trust, to attempt her herein; and yet to do the same as of yourself, by way of communication and devising with her of her troubles, and also of her whole cause, and of the likelihood of some end that must needs follow." This was the *first* step. The second was, that as she might consult Lord Scrope, he was to be spoken to "with great secrecy, that he may agree with you in opinion, if cause be given him by her to talk thereof." The next step seems to have been that the Bishop of Ross was to be in some way influenced to give his mistress the same advice as "from himself." And lastly, Queen Mary was to make the proposal as from herself. It was to come before the world as her spontaneous act. This apparatus of statecraft seems to have been too delicate and complicated for actual working, for there is no account of its reception; and presently a more distinct and emphatic proposal comes from the English Court, as if it had passed at once from subtlety to bluntness. After some preliminaries it

[1] Goodall, ii. 278, 279.

came to the point by recommending that Queen Mary, "as being weary of that realm and government thereof, should yield up the crown and government thereof, and demit the same in favour of her son the prince."[1]

This was met by a direct refusal, uttered in that spirit of indignant scorn which the Queen of Scots could command when it became the occasion. She would die first. The last words she would utter should be those of a Queen of Scots.[2] If it be asked why she refused to do on this occasion what she had done on another, many will find a satisfactory answer in her own often-repeated assurance, that when she signed those parchments at Lochleven she was in fear for her life; now her potent jailer would protect her from assassination. But another solution is possible. At that time exposure was only threatened; it had now come. She knew the worst that could be said, and she would stand at bay. As she herself explained, to yield at this juncture would be to confess herself guilty before all the world, and to deprive herself at the same time of the power of defence which her rank and claims endowed her with. So to the last, and for all that had been done, she demeaned herself as Queen of Scots. It must always be remembered, too, in estimating the treatment she endured, that she had never consented to revoke her claim on the crown of England—a claim which, in the hands of Elizabeth and her advisers, stood in this awkward position, that the more a renunciation was pressed the greater was the importance attributed to the claim.

Why Queen Elizabeth desired a second abdication is obvious. The first was obtained by rebellious subjects, the second would be her own doing. And if it were reasoned that the interference of one sovereign with the rights of another might be a dangerous precedent, the superiority of the crown of England over the crown of Scotland would put the transaction right. A record of the transaction

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[1] Goodall, ii. 300.

[2] "Je suis résolu et déliberé plutost mourir que de [la] fair, et la dernière parole que je feray en ma vie sera d'une Royne d'Escosse." —January 9, 1569; Labanoff, ii. 274.

would have been prepared in all feudal form and solemnity, and stowed away beyond the reach of any Scotsman's eyes so long as the kingdoms remained distinct. Had events turned otherwise than they did, it were hard to estimate how dangerous such a record might have been to the independence of Scotland. Whether Queen Mary had this in view or not, her refusal served her country. We have no indication that Murray's party joined in the request that she should repeat her abdication — apparently they were quite content with what they had already obtained.

Elizabeth and her advisers were obliged also to be content. For the sake of form and dignity it was necessary to give judgment; but to the extent of the ludicrous it was a form without substance. Murray and his adherents had come to be arraigned for disloyalty to their sovereign; but "for so much as there has been nothing deduced against them as yet that may impair their honour and allegiance; and on the other part, there had been nothing produced or shown by them against the queen their sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the queen her good sister for anything yet seen."[1] This was solemnly made known to Murray on the 10th of January 1569, and so he and all others were now at liberty to return. Murray, in a letter dated on the next day, says to the Laird of Craigmillar, "Yesternight we had the queen's majesty's answer by the Council, allowing our doings, with promise to maintain the king's authority and our regiment."[2]

It has been maintained that this is a false rendering of the judgment as it is here cited; but in reality Murray expressed the conclusion which the English Government had reached, or to which it had been forced, whether it was ever set forth in writing or not. Hitherto in all the English royal documents Mary is ever "our dear sister and cousin," and James "the prince her son." On one or two occasions he is described as the person "called the King of Scots." Henceforth the documents conform to

[1] Goodall, ii. 305. [2] Ibid., 306.

the new arrangement.[1] Murray at the same time carried with him an emphatic testimony of recognition in a loan of £5000, which he acknowledged to have received from Queen Elizabeth "for the maintenance of peace betwixt

[1] The policy which prevailed—the policy of endeavouring to establish the new rule in Scotland as coming from the authority of the Queen of England, or, if that could not be done, of giving it countenance from England—was forecast, if not materially aided, by a remarkable letter from Sussex to Cecil already referred to. He says :—

"And now touching my opinion of the matter (not by way of advice, but as imparting to you what I conceive), I think surely no end can be made good for England except the person of the Scotch queen be detained, by one means or other, in England. Of the two ends before written, I think the first to be best in all respects for the queen's majesty, if Murray will produce such matter as the queen's majesty may, by virtue of her superiority over Scotland, find judicially the Scotch queen guilty of the murder of her husband, and therewith detain her in England at the charges of Scotland, and allow of the crowning of the young king and regency of Murray. Whereunto if Hamilton will submit himself, it were well done, for avoiding of his dependency upon France, to receive him, with provision for indemnity of his title ; and if he will not, then to assist Murray to prosecute him and his adherents by confiscation, &c. If this will not fall out sufficiently (as I doubt it will not) to determine judicially if she deny her letters, then surely I think it best to proceed by composition, without show of any meaning to proceed to trial ; and herein as it shall be the surest way for the queen's majesty to procure the Scotch queen to surrender, &c., if that may be brought to pass, so, if she will by no means be induced to surrender, and will not end except she may be in some degree restored, then I think it fit to consider therein these matters following :—

"First, To provide for her and her son to remain in England at the charges of Scotland.

"Secondly, To maintain in strength and authority Murray's faction as much as may be, so as they oppress not unjustly Hamilton.

"Thirdly, To compound the causes between Murray and Hamilton, and their adherents ; and to provide for Hamilton's indemnity in the matter of the title, to avoid his dependency of France.

"Fourthly, That the queen's majesty order all differences that shall arise in Scotland, and to that end have security of both sides.

"Fifthly, If Hamilton will wilfully dissent from order, it is better to assist Murray in the prosecuting of Hamilton by confiscation, although he fly therefor to France, than to put Murray anyways in peril of weakening.

"And lastly, To foresee that these Scots on both sides pack not together, so as to unwrap (under colour of this composition) their mistress out of all present slanders, purge her openly, show themselves

the realms of England and Scotland, and to appease and withstand the attempts and enterprises of the common enemies and disturbers of the common quiet of both the said realms.[1]

Before resuming the narrative of events in Scotland, it may serve to clear the way for a distinct consecutive account of them, if we go back to the point where Bothwell left the queen at Carberry, and pursue his career onwards to its end. He fled to his strong castle of Dunbar; but he saw it would be vain to stand a siege by the confederates, so he took shipping for Morayland. There he was sheltered and entertained by his granduncle the bishop in his strong episcopal castle of Spynie. Yet there he was not safe, and he sailed onwards to his dukedom in the Orkney Isles. Kirkcaldy of Grange and the Laird of Tullibardine were sent northward in pursuit.[2] He was

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satisfied with her abode here, and within short time after, either by reconcilement or the death of the child, join together to demand of the queen the delivery home of their queen to govern her own realm, she also making the like request; and then the queen, having no just cause to detain her, be bound in honour to return her into her realm, and, for matters that in this time shall pass, have her a mortal enemy for ever after."—Lodge's Illustrations, i. 462. It will be noted, that as this was a letter between friends, and not a State paper likely to pass into Scotland, there is no occasion for avoiding reference to the "superiority over Scotland" as an accepted fact.

[1] Fœdera, xv. 677.

[2] Grange, writing to the Earl of Bedford, says of his objects in the expedition: "And for my own part, though I be no good seaman, I promise me to your lordship that gif I man anse enconter with him either by sea or land, he shall either carry me with him, or else I shall bring him dead or quick to Edinburgh; for I take God to witness the only occasion that moved me either to procure or join myself to the Lords of this the late enterprise was to restore my native country again to liberty and honour. For your lordship knows well enough how we were spoken of amongst all nations for that treasonable and horrible deed whilk was committed by the traitor Bothwell."—An account of the latter years of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, his imprisonment and death in Denmark, and the disinterment of his presumed remains; in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.S.A., from the Rev. R. S. Ellis, M.A., chaplain to her Majesty's legation at Copenhagen. Read to the Society of Antiquaries of England, 9th December 1859. Arch. xxxviii. 308.

A contemporary tells how the ships sent in pursuit of "the Earl of

not accepted as the ruler of the islands; and finding that he could not be protected from his pursuers, he put to sea, narrowly escaping capture.

At this point all that world that had been aroused by the recent events in Edinburgh, heard that the active demon of the great tragedy commanded a fleet of pirate vessels, and had become the scourge and terror of the traders in the North Sea. His evil repute in his high office of Admiral of Scotland naturally fitted into such a conclusion, and it was served by the accident that he sailed away in a vessel that had been commanded by a notorious pirate named David Vodt. A ship belonging to Bothwell—whether his only one or not—was seized by his pursuers. The suspicious vessel in which he sailed, with its companion, had been obtained in the emergency of his escape, whether honestly in purchase or hire, or by seizure. He is supposed to have left behind him valuable jewels in his haste, but, as we shall see, he brought his private papers with him.

In Bergen, the continental port nearest to the Orkneys, there was much excitement on the appearance of a Danish ship of war having in custody two armed pinks from Scotland. It was reported that suspicions against them were confirmed by the absence of all the certificates and other papers appropriate to the vessels of honest traders. Then the commander of the pinks was a man in ragged and patched raiment, who gave his captors the amazing intelligence that he was the monarch or supreme ruler of

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Bothwell and his complices, slayers of the king's grace, arrived and came to Leith and Dundee frustrate of their prey." In giving chase to what they supposed to be Bothwell's fleet, "the ship called the Unicorn, being formost of the ships pursuand the said earl's ships, most vehemently come upon ane rock and brack to pieces, and the captains and men of war being therein with great difficulty escaped." It was on this occasion that the Bishop of Orkney, who was in the vessel, leaped on the rock with an agility that was alluded to in the crisis of the discussion on the casket letters. The narrator goes on to say, "In this mean time the said earl's ships passed to ane place, where the said earl and his complices being in the time foresaid upon the Isle of Zetland at his dinner with Olav Sinclair, Foud of Zetland, come therefore to them and shippet, and thereafter passed to the sea, where he could not be apprehended."—Diurnal of Occurrents, 122, 123.

Scotland. In this capacity he claimed to be exempt from the restraint of passports, licences, or any other certificates required by ordinary traders on the seas. When questioned about his present object, he said he was on his way to hold a conference with the King of Denmark, and having concluded business at that Court, he was to pass on the same purport onwards to the Court of France. Being asked if he had any treasures, jewels, or other valuable things on board, he said, No—there was nothing that he cared for; and it would appear that though he had taken with him such valuables, he had left them in the exigencies of his flight. He showed an uneasy eagerness, however, about a desk containing important private documents. His captors were not so confiding as to let him have access to these without partaking in the secrets they might reveal. And here was new matter of surprise—a bundle of letters and printed proclamations, showing that the owner of them was prosecuted as a traitor and a murderer, and was fleeing before the avengers of blood. Among the documents thus seized was one, that, as it comes to us in the official list, is apt to excite interest and curiosity, since it is called a letter from the Queen of Scots, with the tantalising announcement that it tells her griefs, but with nothing more. But there was another document of infinite interest to the captors—a sealed parchment, being a patent raising some one, and apparently the fugitive in their possession, to the rank of Duke of the Orkney and Shetland Isles, the old dominions of Norway.

He was removed to Copenhagen. There, though held in restraint, he seems to have been indulged with some shadow of the courtesies due to royalty in adversity. Through the French ambassador, Dantzay, he addressed two memorials to King Frederic, the first being dated in January 1568, on the Day of Kings, called in England Twelfth-day.

These papers make out a good case, of services to his sovereign exciting the malice of his sovereign's enemies. He fought for Queen Mary's Government, when there was rebellion against her mother acting for her as regent, and the rebels traitorously allied themselves to an invading army of

Scotland's enemies. He set himself to defeat the ambitious projects of the queen's illegitimate brother to supersede her on the throne, and was persecuted by his powerful enemy and driven from the country. He returned in time to save the queen's husband from a project for his destruction, and was enabled to rescue both the king and the queen from the conspirators who succeeded in slaying their faithful servant Rizzio. Thus again he incurred the hatred of the queen's enemies, and he was bethinking himself of retiring from the world and passing his days in peaceful obscurity, when there was a louder call than ever for his devoted services to his sovereign, since the traitors, finding their opportunity, had murdered the king by blowing up the house where he abode with gunpowder, and the queen would doubtless be the next victim. These conspirators, to get rid of her champion, accused himself of the deed, whereon he instantly demanded an open trial, and, for all the machinations of his enemies, was honourably acquitted. At this point, those influential nobles who were the supporters of the Crown and the friends of royalty, deeming such a reward due to his gallant fidelity, recommended him as a worthy husband to the queen. He was accepted. What followed on Carberry Hill required little art to make it flat rebellion and treason against the sovereign and her husband. They took counsel together to seek foreign aid—first of Denmark, next of France. Hence was he, after having escaped from the pursuit of his enemies, in the King of Denmark's dominions, proposing, when he had completed a desirable arrangement there, to pass on to Paris.

For the aid solicited from Denmark a distinct return was offered. We have seen how James III. married a daughter of Christian, King of Denmark, and how the Orkney and Shetland Isles were kept in pledge by Scotland for her unpaid dowry. The emissary from Scotland, who had arrived in so strange a fashion, was empowered and prepared to render back this dominion to the Crown of Denmark, if he was satisfied with the proffers of the King of Denmark to assist the queen and the loyal party in Scotland against the rebels. The restitution was to be

absolute, with a discharge of all pecuniary claim; and he was authorised in the diplomatics of the transaction to give assurance that the queen, himself, and the Council of Scotland, would grant whatever obligations Denmark might demand.[1]

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[1] "Je supplye sa majesté qu'il luy playse en dresser les lettres, avec telles et si estroittes conditions, pour les dicts isles d'Orquenay et Schetland, que sa dicte majesté et les conseillers du royaume de Dannemarck estimeront estre pour leur plus grands seureté; et je prometz en bonne foy que les dictes lettres seront scellées de la royne, de moy, et du conseil du royaume d'Escosse, et signées de chascun de nous, de noz propres mains."—Teulet, supplementary to Labanoff, 189. To one not critical in the diplomacy of the period, the condition seems to be put with distinctness, as well as the whole case of which it is a part. We have not much of Bothwell's writing even in his native tongue, and it is therefore of some moment that in the third collection of fac-similes of national manuscripts issued by authority of the Lord Clerk Register there is a letter from him on business connected with the French auxiliary force in the defence of Leith. Both in composition and penmanship it is good, and its neat Italian lettering contrasts favourably with a specimen of the Regent Murray's writing in the same collection. No one has doubted the genuineness of Bothwell's French narrative, and its acceptance by M. Teulet is almost conclusive. One would have welcomed from so accomplished a diplomatic scholar as M. Teulet a fuller criticism on these papers than the dry reference in a note to "ces curieux Mémoires, dans lesquelles le Comte de Bothwell expose sa justification avec une certaine habilité." Those accustomed to work in the historical treasures M. Teulet has left, having got so much, would expect no more, for he was an archæologist of the severe school, looking to the purity of the text, and offering all aid to the proper understanding of it, but leaving the rest to the reader. It may not conform to our national ideas of the French intellect, but it is true that France has been fertile in archæologists of the pure scientific order, and among these M. Teulet has done services likely to be more appreciated the more they are examined. Nine years ago I requested from him an opinion on a version of the fifth of the 'Casket Letters' discovered at Hatfield, and particularly on the questions, if it bore internal evidence of being originally composed in French, and if it threw any light on the great controversy—but he pronounced nothing. The same document has since been examined by a more daring critic, who has published it in *fac-simile*, with a criticism bearing this conclusion: "Appelé à siéger après trois siècles dans un jury étranger à toutes les passions du temps d'Elisabeth, qui ne releverait que de sa conscience et de son impartialité, nous n'hésiterons pas à déclarer que Marie Stuart est innocent et que cette lettre est l'œuvre d'un faussaire."—Marie Stuart d'apres les documents

He was removed across the narrow sound to Malmoe, in Sweden, apparently before the end of the year 1573. Thence, in 1573, he was taken to the Castle of Draxholm, on the western coast of Zealand, where he spent the remainder of his days. His detention was the object of an active diplomatic correspondence. The successive regents of Scotland demanded his extradition, that he might be tried and punished. Queen Elizabeth backed them, offering, if it were thought preferable, that he should be sent through England, that she might have a voice in his disposal. Had he in any way been at the disposal of the Scots Government, everything connected with the great crime—the casket letters and all—would have been cast abroad for public discussion. Whether this would have been desirable to her accusers or not, it could not have been escaped. It is open to argument, that apprehensions of such a discussion suggested to them another alternative—namely, that treating the fugitive on his Parliamentary condemnation in Scotland as a criminal under sentence for treason and murder, sentence of death should be executed upon him in Denmark, and his head should be sent to Scotland to be impaled in the Kirk-of-Field. To see this project effected, and take charge of the head, Captain John Clark was sent to Copenhagen, and he was joined by an agent or ambassador of higher grade, Thomas Buchanan, a nephew of the great George. Whatever the accusers had to apprehend from the presence of Bothwell, the French ambassador in England saw in his removal to Scotland a dire prospect for the imprisoned queen, and exerted himself against it.[1] On the part of France, therefore, King Frede-

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conservés au Chateau d'Hatfield, par M. Le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove ; Proc. Royal Academy of Belgium, No. 7, p. 107.

[1] "Je suis de rechef fort instantement sollicité de suplier vostre Majesté d'empescher en toutes sortes le retour du comte de Boudouel, car l'on estime que nul plus grand escandalle a la réputation de ceste pauvre princesse, ny nul plus grand destorbier à ses affaires et à ceulx de votre service par deçà, ne sçauroit venir de nulle aultre chose qu'on peult pratiquer au monde."—La Mothe Fénélon Correspondance, iv. 152. He had before put it that the extra-

ric was besought to keep Bothwell in close detention; and he did so, rather evading by troublesome conditions, than directly repelling, the demands of the Queen of England and the Regent of Scotland.

Among the other incidents of Bothwell's eventful history it befell him at this juncture to find himself embarrassed with a Danish wife, whose claims went further back than the two affairs in Scotland. Like the wives whose misfortune it is to own erratic husbands of a humbler order, she seems to have taken her opportunity to lay claim to her share in such worldly goods as he happened to have in hand, for she got possession of one of the pinks with its apparel.[1]

This claim is supposed to have had its influence on the determination to detain him. There was at the same time the solicitation of the French Court; and perhaps at the root of all, the unwillingness to abandon what might in some shape or other be worked towards the

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dition would go "pour achever de ruyner les affaires et la réputation de ceste pauvre princesse."—Ibid., 148.

[1] "On the 17th of September, Mrs Anna, Christopher Trandson's daughter, brought a suit against the Earl of Bothwell for having taken her away from her native country, and refusing to treat her as his married wife, although he by hand, word of mouth, and by letters, had promised her so to do, which letters she caused to be read before him. And inasmuch as he had three wives living—first herself; then another in Scotland, of whom he had rid himself by purchase; last of all, the Queen Mary—Mrs Anna was of opinion that he was not at all a person to be depended on; he therefore promised her the yearly allowance of a hundred dollars from Scotland, and gave her a pink, with anchor, cable, and other appurtenances."—Liber Bergensis, cited in 'A Residence in Jutland, the Danish Isles, and Copenhagen,' by Horace Marryat, i. 412. This marriage seems to have been of sufficient moment to interest the English statesmen of the day. "It is said that the Earl of Bothwell is married in Denmark to a wife with whom he has 40,000 'yoendallers.' The author of this tale is Lady Buccleugh, his old friend and lover."—Randolph to Cecil, 25th September 1560; Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 311. Something of the story was known to De Thou as cited by Schiern, p. 277. The term "Pink" has, it may be noted, dropped out of naval nomenclature. It seems to have been an adaptation of the French "Pinque," defined in the Dictionnaire de Trevoux, "un bâtiment de charge qui est rond à l'arrière."

restoration of the Northern Isles to the Scandinavian sovereignty. His detention was so close and secret that nothing was ever heard of it in Scotland, and he dropped out of recollection. In 1573 came a rumour of his death, and in 1575 a second and more positive assurance of it, generally believed.[1] On the 1st of June 1576, Queen Mary wrote to her faithful Beaton that she was assured her husband had uttered a death-bed confession, taking on himself all the guilt of the crime, and pronouncing her innocent. She afterwards complained that the confession had been sent by King Frederic of Denmark to Queen Elizabeth, and that by her it had been suppressed.[2] Beaton in his turn had to give her a pleasant item of intelligence. The tenor of the confession had been told to her son, and the boy had shown becoming exultation at the rescue of his mother's fame from the calumnies heaped upon it.[3]

A few years later, when the position of Queen Mary in the esteem of her friends was rather that of the triumphant martyr than of the sufferer under malignant rumours, and the immaculateness of her character had spread as a creed among those who were making her history available in the cause of her Church, it was natural that the rumour of a death-bed repentance, accompanied by the justification of the innocent, should be realised.[4] Bothwell's confession is

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[1] His death is thus entered in a chronology called "Magazine til den Danske Adels historie :" "In the year 1578, the 14th of April, died the Scottish Earl at Draxholm, and was buried in the same church. His name was James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell."—Ellis, p. 311.

[2] Labanoff, iv. 330, 340.

[3] Keith, App., xviii., p. 301.

[4] "Il deschargea la royne sa maistresse entierement du crime à elle impose par ceux mesmes qui l'avoient commis et perpetré, appellant Dieu a tesmoin de son dire 'Blackwood Martyre.'"—Jebb, ii. 227. The confession was handled with ampler eloquence by another writer of the same school, who appealed to King Frederic as having heard it from the criminal, and so responsible for proclaiming to the world the innocence of a sister queen. See 'Maria Stuarta, Regina Scotiæ innocens, &c., vindice Oberto Barnestapolio,' Jebb, i. 415. The writer of this is identified as an English Jesuit named Robert Turner, a native of Barnstaple (Jöcher Lexicon, *voce* "Turner"). Turner was addicted to paradoxical essays—a fashion of the day. He has one in favour of debt, "Melius est debere quam non debere." Another, "De Laude

now well known, and has been amply criticised.[1] The penitent attributes the influence he had gained over the queen to the science of the sorcerer or magician, in which he had been an ardent student and accomplished adept; and this was a solution of difficulties harmonising thoroughly with the current opinions of the day.[2] This confession has never been pressed by Queen Mary's vindicators as anything conclusive, even on the admission that it was the genuine utterance of the dying ruffian.[3] A death-bed confession, indeed, it could not be, for, as we have seen, he lived years after it became current; and that the document referred to by Queen Mary and Beaton is what we now see, is shown by her naming—though not with precise accuracy — the witnesses noted as present. But skilful recent criticism has thrown the date when such a document was possible still further back, by investigating the period when these witnesses lived and died, and showing that, to have been witnessed by all of them, the confession must have been uttered between January 1568 and October 1569.[4] People may utter dying confessions and yet live

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Ebrietatis," beginning "Fugiant hinc Catones vultu severi, facessant Philosophi oculis graves; exterminentur Theolog conscientiæ lege arctissime constricti."—Roberti Turneri, &c., Professoris in Academia Ingolstadiensi Orationes.

[1] It is among the other documents in the volume edited by Lord Cockburn for the Bannatyne Club, 'Les Affaires du Comte de Boduel,' and in Teulet's supplementary volume to Labanoff's Collection.

[2] If the confession was framed in Denmark, the hint may have been taken from a remark by the Scots ambassador, Thomas Buchanan, who says that a queen so illustrious and so highly endowed with the best gifts of God would never have been at the command of a monster like Bothwell, if her natural powers "fascinationibus, filtris, incantationibus ac veneficiis ceterisque malis artibus, corruptæ subversæque non essent."—Teulet's Supplement to Labanoff, 228.

[3] The strongest stand has been made on a short passage in a letter by Sir John Forster giving the news of Morton's conviction. "There was xxii. articles put against him, but there was none that hurt him except the murder of the king, which was laid unto him by iv. or v. sound witnesses. The first is the Lord Bothwell's testament."—Chalmers, 8vo edition, ii. 319. It is not elsewhere stated that reference was made to the confession at Morton's trial.

[4] "James Hepburn, Jarl af Bothwell, hans Anholdesle i Norge og Fœngselslir i Denmark: en historisk-Undersœgelse" (James Hepburn,

on, but there were still larger elements of improbability. King James, in his romantic matrimonial expedition, was in the places connected with the affair, and among the men who must have known whatever was to be known about the great State prisoner, who had been dead only some twelve years. James brought home as his wife the daughter of the King Frederic who had been called on before Europe to proclaim the confession as an acquittal. Among those who accompanied her, it is told how, on 17th of May 1590, in the festivities on the arrival of the royal pair in Scotland, there were present at Holyrood these men, Erik Kaas, Steen Brahe, Sœrgen Brahe, and Hannibal Gyldensterne, all men, whose fathers, if the story of the confession were true, must have been present when it was uttered.[1] King James, it was known, would do anything for his mother's memory that did not demand a serious sacrifice of his worldly fortunes, and had there been available in Denmark material for cleansing her reputation from its foul stains, the world would have known of it. The skilful critical examination of such conditions now available may satisfy us that Bothwell's confession is a fabrication.[2]

Earl of Bothwell, his Seizure in Norway, and Imprisonment in Denmark: a Historical Inquiry), by Frederick Schiern, Professor of History in the University of Copenhagen, p. 289.

Though the names of the witnesses as mentioned by Queen Mary do not quite coincide with those in the received copies of the testament, they are a mere variation of the same list, which is inaccurate in all the copies, and gave Professor Schiern much trouble in identifying the men intended to be named. In Teulet's, which must be held as the most carefully printed edition of the testament, the witnesses are "Baron Gowes of Malmye Castle, Otto Braue of Elsinbronche Castell, Monsieur Gullionestarne of Fowltostie Castle," p. 245. The Professor identifies in these "Bjœrn Kaas Lehnsmand, at Malmœhuus, Otto Brahe, the same at Helsingborg—this was the father of the illustrious astronomer—and Mogens Gyldenstjerne in Fultofte," p. 289. The Lehnsmand, generally a territorial magnate, had certain judicial and executive functions.

[1] P. 298.

[2] Professor Schiern is occupied in the preparation of a second and enlarged edition of his very curious inquiry. Unfortunately, bad health has delayed its publication. I hear from him, however, that

all recent inquiries have tended to confirm rather than to shake his conclusions. When Denmark demands a second edition of a book having so much more interest for this country, it will surely be a reproach to us if it remains untranslated. I may mention that Professor Schiern does not believe in the mummy reputed to be the dead body of Bothwell, and pronounced by a lively traveller to be unmistakably that of "an ugly Scotchman!" As a portrait from this mummy is preserved in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, the Professor's scepticism removes the last shred of any trace whence we could realise what Bothwell was in his manner as he lived.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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